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YOUR WEEK
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REPORT

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Can You Believe Harold Howe

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

It is a pleasant exercise on a winter's afternoon to go for a short hike through the mind of Harold Howe II, marveling at the ideas that flower along the trail. With $4 billion a year at his disposal, more or less, the U.S. commissioner of education is a natural phenomenon worth knowing.

A few days ago a long interview with Mr. Howe appeared in *U.S. News & World Report*. Here one could study the shy and delicate Howe, the violet, as it were, in a crannied wall. This was not the long-thorned and prickly Howe that one encounters in southern climates, down below the glacial drift. This was the Howe of sweetness and light. Did he seek a tight hold on local schools? Goodness, no. Busing of pupils? Not he. Was he opposed to the neighborhood school? Heaven forfend!

The commissioner was asked about a massive survey, published in July, dealing with inequalities in education. This survey seemed to say, he remarked diffidently, that "who goes to school with whom has a very definite connection to what some youngsters learn—particularly youngsters from disadvantaged families."

"Do you mean," asked his interviewer, "that schools should be reorganized to get more of a mixture of different kinds of pupils? More mixing of whites and Negroes, for example?"

"We have not considered suggesting at this point that schools re-examine their organization on the basis of such a report," Mr. Howe replied.

The questioner persisted: "Your thinking has not yet reached the point where you would say to a school district that it must change its set-up in order to obtain a mixture of pupils?"

"Oh, no," said the commissioner. "First of all, we haven't got that authority. And if we did have, we wouldn't use it."

In the South, at least, these responses from Commissioner Howe will be greeted with total incredulity. Even in those cities where desegregation has been proceeding steadily for some years, the gentleman's one abiding obsession is with achieving a greater mixture of white and Negro pupils.

In Section 181.54 of his famous guidelines, he has spelled out the very percentages of acceptable progress toward that goal. And as for changing the set-up of a local school district, these same guidelines, in Section 181.11, spell out the approved ways and means—to close certain schools altogether, to reorganize grade structures, to establish new attendance zones, to assign teachers by race. True enough, these guidelines are intended for transition from a dual system of schools to a single system, but the principle is the same—to achieve a racial, social and economic mix.

"Do you want to do away with the neighborhood school?" Mr. Howe was asked.

"No, nor do I want to move the schools away from the neighborhood . . . . So far as I know, nobody is making any massive attack on the neighborhood school."

But in a speech in Washington on July 19, this same Harold Howe was very cold to the neighborhood school. It was necessary, he said, that we take a close look at the term. "We will have to reappraise where the boundary lines of neighborhoods should be drawn." To a disturbing degree, the concept of neighborhood had come to mean "a nation of plush suburbs on the one hand, and mid-city slums on the other."

What about transporting students by bus, from city to suburb and back, to achieve greater integration? calities themselves want this Howe, fine and dandy: "E not moving toward a time federal government is going to get involved in pushing cities and suburbs to do this or requiring them to do it."

Not moving toward such a time? It was from Commissioner Howe's own office, in September, that a carefully prepared draft emerged of an "Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1967." Title II of this bill proposed specifically that federal subsidies be granted as inducements to communities that engaged in the busing of white and Negro pupils. Other bonuses were proposed for communities that adopted area-wide zoning, cutting across political lines; for careful school site selection "to maximize integration"; for pairing of white and Negro schools, for pupil exchanges, and for "development of new curricular materials, particularly those including proper representation of racial and religious minorities."

In the interview Commissioner Howe gave this legislative proposal the bum's rush. It was "just a draft document that we had around the office. Nobody had adopted it or done anything with it." Yet the bill, obviously the product of much labor and many approvals, bore an office notation: "Sent to Secretary." This was not doing anything with it?

One suspects, in the winter that brings the 90th Congress, that the flowers that bloomed in the spring, tra-la, have gone through a pruning process. The root stock remains; and one may be certain that in time the coercive ideas of Harold Howe will blossom again.

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HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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CAPITAL BRIEFS

● Insiders are saying that Gov. **Nelson Rockefeller**, while seeming to support Gov. George Romney for President, secretly desires to get the job himself—in spite of his protestations to the contrary. According to these sources, Rocky would like to force a situation in which there would be a stand-off between Nixon and the Michigan governor and then step in from the wings.

● The **Kennedy brothers** will be featured speakers in the first round of Roosevelt Day dinners to be held in January, sponsored by the radical Americans for Democratic Action. Both men, according to ADA, had a "perfect" voting record in the last session of Congress.

● Sen. Thomas A. Dodd (D.-Conn.) plans to introduce a bill in the next session of Congress to prevent Yugoslav refugee **Mexhdudin Korca** from being deported. As pointed out in the December 3 issue of **Human Events**, Korca, though he fled from Titoland and faces imprisonment there because of his defection, was ordered back to Yugoslavia by the immigration department.

● **Tony S. Smith**, who announced his resignation as Barry Goldwater's executive assistant in Washington last week, says the former senator is planning to taper down on national political activities and concentrate his efforts on winning back a Senate seat from Arizona.

● Lame duck Gov. Edmund "Pat" Brown of California has made an 11th-hour judicial appointment. Brown named **Earl Warren Jr.**, son of the U.S. chief justice, to a Sacramento municipal court judgeship. Young Warren, president of the National Mental Health Association, campaigned energetically for Brown in the recent race.

● The eruption at the University of California at Berkeley last week, in which non-student **Mario Savio** was taken into custody and later released on bail, is bound to hasten Gov. Ronald Reagan's promised probe of the Berkeley campus.

● **David Rockefeller**, president and executive committe chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank, has dealt Sen. Abraham Ribicoff a political setback by puncturing a hole in Ribicoff's prize theory that the government should be the primary agent to rebuild America's cities. Not so, said Rockefeller last week. Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's brother told Ribicoff that building the nation's cities is "primarily a task for private enterprise." Ribicoff has been holding hearings on "urban problems" to drum up support for more federal spending in the cities.

● Indiana Democrat Sen. **Vance Hartke** has been enlisted as the principal speaker at the upcoming "Human Rights Rally to End the Viet Nam War," to be held December 8 in New York City's Madison Square Garden. The rally is part of a worldwide campaign being organized by the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace which has suggested the United States is committing "genocide" in Viet Nam.

● Newspaper reports that Sen. **George Murphy** (R.-Calif.) is in bad health are "nonsense," say his advisers. Murphy, they report, is barnstorming the state and plans to plunge into the heat of things back in Washington as soon as Congress returns. "He never looked better," said one informant.

● Gov.-elect **George Docking** of Kansas, a Democrat, says frankly that neither LBJ nor Robert Kennedy would likely carry his state today. Docking, who ran as a moderate-to-conservative Democrat, defeated incumbent GOP Gov. William Avery. Docking campaigned on one issue—a "needless" tax increase pushed through the legislature by Avery.

● U.S. District Judge Alexander Holtzoff ruled last week that top Communist **Robert Thompson** had no "right" to be buried in Arlington National Cemetery. The Army had refused to bury Thompson, decorated World War II veteran, because of his subsequent conviction on charges of conspiring to overthrow the U.S. government. Thompson's wife, backed by the American Civil Liberties Union, had gone into court to force the Army to reverse its position. Judge Holtzoff ruled for the Army.

● **John Kenneth Galbraith**, ultra-liberal economist and former U.S. ambassador to India, has stunned his English hosts by attacking governmental interference with private industry. Galbraith, a Harvard professor, told a British Broadcasting Corp. audience that corporations should not only resist excessive government controls but also "any invasion by trade unions of the prerogatives of management."

● A liberal Democrat, Rep. Lionel Van Deerlin of California, has announced that he will make a motion at the opening session of Congress to deny Rep. **Adam Clayton Powell** (D.-N.Y.) his seat if he is still subject to a court order committing him to jail.

● A recent ad in the New York Times demanded the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Viet Nam and "free national elections" in that country. Among the signers: **Fredrich Ebert**, the mayor of East Berlin, a city which has not experienced a free election in two decades of Communist rule.

● Gen. **Bernard Schriever**, the man most responsible for development of America's long-range missiles, has assailed the Administration for its exclusive dependence on them. Schriever, retired chief of the Air Force research and development command, said that a new super manned bomber was urgently required. Criticizing cuts in funds for military research, Schriever also said that Defense Secretary McNamara's policies tend to stifle development of new weapons. (For a complete report on McNamara, see page 8.)

● In its desire to "build bridges" to the East, the **State Department** announced last week that it had reached agreement with Hungary and Bulgaria to raise the U.S. diplomatic missions in those countries from legation to embassy level.

● Officials of the **American Motors Corp.** have announced their intention to sell automobiles to the Soviet Union. "I'm going to Russia and I am going to sell some cars there," proclaimed AMC vice president William S. Pickett. The auto firm is apparently unconcerned by military uses the Kremlin may make of the cars.

● Three members of the Philadelphia chapter of the militant **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee** have been indicted for illegal possession of dynamite. One of the three was a professional blaster who stole the dynamite from a construction firm, according to the Philadelphia grand jury, which returned the indictments in late November.

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Tax Hike Ahead

Insiders say President Johnson will almost certainly call for a tax hike next year, in spite of opposition from Republican leaders and top economists. Here's the reason, according to these sources:

The President's next fiscal budget, as leaked by government officials in Austin, Tex., may run as high as $140 billion, $27 billion higher than the current one. LBJ will have to raise the money in some fashion. But sources close to LBJ say he desires a tax hike as soon as Congress returns—not primarily to finance his proposed budget, but to offset the budget deficit accruing for fiscal 1967.

The President is said to fear that the current deficit will run as high as $13 billion—even higher than the record post-war deficit of $12.4 billion chalked up by Ike in 1958.

Democrats, as LBJ is well aware, have long reaped political benefit from the fact that the highest deficit since World War II was racked up under a Republican administration. LBJ, it is said, would like to prevent the Democrats from being the champion deficit makers. Thus, his desire for a quick tax hike.

Forceful Republican opposition, however, is considered the controlling reason for LBJ's delay (see above) in saying whether he will seek a tax increase.

Until his bipartisan budget discussions with legislative leaders at his Texas ranch, the President had hoped to strike an agreement with Senate and House GOP leaders on the need for a tax raise. But while the President made his avowed intention of cutting back government spending by $3 billion, no statement was issued on taxes.

Columnists Allen and Scott say this was due to Senate Republican Leader Everett Dirksen (Ill.) and House GOP Leader Gerald Ford (Mich.), who scuttled any announcement by making it bluntly clear that they are against raising taxes for the present.

When LBJ asked Dirksen for his views on how to finance the Viet Nam war, the Illinois leader reportedly replied: "I can tell you that a majority of the Republicans are against hiking taxes for that purpose." Dirksen countered with a proposal for LBJ to slash spending even futher. Ford was considered equally adamant. But LBJ will still probably try to raise taxes in January.

Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen has told the President that Republicans favor budget cuts rather than increased taxes.

• The *Wall Street Journal* reports that LBJ will not only be fighting Republicans, but the nation's economists if he demands a tax hike now. Only 12 per cent of the 52 economists queried by the *Journal* now favor such a boost. Last May a similar poll showed that 40 per cent expressed support for higher taxes.

Economists are now saying that a tax hike risks a recessionary "overkill," because of the recent downturn in the economy.

Typifing the switch is Norman Robertson, vice president and economist for Mellon National Bank and Trust Co., Pittsburgh. Though he publicly called for a tax increase last spring, Robertson now feels a tax hike without loosening credit restrictions would definitely risk a recession.

Four San Francisco-area economists interviewed about a tax rise last May now voice opposition to it. "I feel there is ample indication that there is a good prospect for recession in the event of an increase," said Dale W. Jorgenson, professor of economics at the University of California. Jorgenson even proposes that the 7 per cent investment tax credit and accelerated depreciation, suspended this fall, be reinstated next July to elimiate the fiscal drag he fears will develop by then.

"My own preference for stopping inflation isn't to induce a recession," declared Beryl Sprinkel, vice president and economist of Harris Trust and Savings Bank, Chicago. The restraints of tight money "haven't shown their entire effect yet," he claimed,

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

and "a tax increase could lead to a lower income which would give us an even bigger deficit."

Sprinkel, echoing previous warnings by former Vice President Richard Nixon, added: "I fear we'll end up with the worst possible combination: A sizable budget deficit and a recession."

Economists opposing a tax increase pointed to "soft spots" in the economy. David Snell, economist for Texas National Bank of Commerce, Houston, mentioned sagging activity in the construction industry, a decline in purchases of consumer durable goods such as automobiles and small gains in industrial production as reasons to be wary of a tax boost. Also, he noted, capital and plant expenditures are expected to rise at a much slower rate next year than in 1966.

Nevertheless, LBJ appears determined to push through a tax hike rather than resort to a drastic cut in government spending.

Lindsay Lauds Berkeleyites

New York Mayor John Lindsay last week lauded "free speech" rebels at the University of California and said "the spirit of Berkeley offers genuine promise" to Negro youths in the nation's ghettoes. Lindsay made the incredible remarks in a speech at Princeton University.

Ironically, at the very moment Lindsay spoke, Berkeley police were breaking up a wild demonstration staged by "free speech" partisans against the presence on campus of a naval recruiter.

The demonstration was sparked by Mario Savio, the fiery-tongued orator who directed the 1964 protests, and Jerry Rubin, an avowed Marxist who is a key figure in the radical-left Viet Nam Day Commiteee.

In his Princeton speech Lindsay said that the Berkeley demonstrations had organization and direction. In contrast, he said, underprivileged Negro youths "seem to be approaching the belief that nothing they can do can bring any tangible improvement in the world that imprisons them. The spirit of Berkeley offers genuine promise that we may be able to combat the malignancies of the slums."

Romney's Missive

The release last week of the 12-page Romney letter explaining why he refused to back Goldwater in 1964 has not only widened the already existing breach between the two camps but alienated independent-minded Republicans who indirectly came in for some sideswipes by the Romney missive.

Dated Dec. 21, 1964, and written in response to a Goldwater query, the Romney letter is bound to hurt the governor's presidential chances, according to Washington observers.

Few on Capitol Hill, however, believe Romney's pious statement that he didn't release it. The letter was "leaked" to the New York *Times* on the heels of the Romney-Rockefeller political strategy meeting in Puerto Rico, and it was written up by John Herbers, who covered the Dorado Beach powwow for the *Times*.

Knowledgeable politicos, moreover, were impressed by the fact that the letter came into public view under the most favorable conditions as far as Romney is concerned. Now that it has been aired some 18 months before the GOP convention, the letter is not likely to be an issue when Romney starts turning on the steam to capture GOP delegates. Furthermore, Republican legislators who were prepared to disagree with Romney's thesis were of course away on vacation.

Despite the favorable timing of its release, however, many still believe that the letter has hurt the Michigan governor. By strongly suggesting the platform was rigged to suit Southern segregationists and the Ku Klux Klan, Romney has not only attacked Goldwater but the 1964 platform chairman, Rep. Melvin Laird (R.-Wis.) and Rep. William McCulloch (R.-Ohio), who was instrumental in working out the civil rights planks.

ROMNEY

Contrary to Romney's charge, the 1964 GOP platform was actually stronger than the Democratic one in regard to civil rights, even calling for additional federal legislation when needed.

Goldwater partisans are stunned by Romney's assertion that the Arizonan's campaign "never effectively deviated from the Southern-rural-white orientation." That, says one close to the former senator, is a flat lie.

Goldwater, he points out, personally killed the showing of the campaign film "Choice" on the grounds it may have been misinterpreted as racially inflammatory; he personally arranged the meeting with LBJ to keep race out of the campaign. Even such a staunch liberal as Theodore White says in his *Making of a President—1964* that Goldwater never made race an issue.

Furthermore, at the Hershey conference in August 1964, attended by Goldwater, Romney, Ike and other bigwig Republicans, Goldwater publicly denounced extremists and racists, just as Romney had requested. Remarked Goldwater at the time: "I seek the support of no extremist, of the left or of the right. I have far too much faith in the good sense and stability of my fellow Republicans to be impressed by talk of a so-called extremist take-over of the party.

"Such a thing cannot happen under Bill Miller and me.

"We repudiate the character assassins, vigilantes, Communists and such groups as the Ku Klux Klan which seeks to impose its views through terror or threat or violence." Goldwater couldn't get more specific than that. Yet somehow Romney charges that Goldwater made no "strong clarifying statement" against extremists at Hershey.

Romney also faults Goldwater for not clarifying himself on many other issues. Yet Goldwater was more on record than probably any candidate in history—indeed, most politicos damned him for that very fact.

And on the whole subject of clarifying issues, said one Republican, "Who is Romney to talk? Does anyone know where George stands on any of the vital issues of the day?"

Why, then, did Romney write the letter? In the eyes of many politicos, Romney, a moralizer, had to justify to himself his bad faith toward Goldwater in some fashion. It would also be a convenient alibi for the future. Whether Republican regulars will accept it is another matter.

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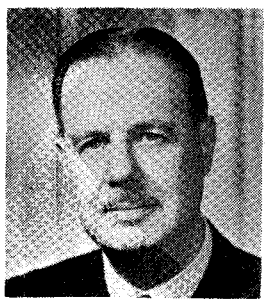
Scott Scored

Not played up in the press was the action taken by the recent executive committee meeting of the 500,000 - member Young Republican National Federation at the Brown Palace Hotel in Denver, Colo.


SCOTT

Some 50 top-ranking YRNF officials who assembled there voted overwhelmingly to condemn Sen. Hugh Scott (R.-Pa.) and the liberal Ripon Society for their disruptive tactics in the GOP. Politicos say the vote again reveals the antipathy for liberals among the Republican party's more youthful members and demonstrates the difficulties the liberals have ahead of them in their attempts to achieve permanent control of the GOP.

Sen. Scott was singled out for criticism because of his vituperative attacks on the Young Republicans and his astonishingly enthusiastic foreword ("this excellent book") to a publication put out by the Ripon group. This booklet, which scores the current GOP leadership, primarily because of its conservative outlook, actually endorses the "Great Society."

The executive committee passed this condemnation of Scott, with his press secretary, Gene Cowen, looking on, and in spite of a last-minute defense of Scott by Bob Gleason, a YR national committeeman from Pennsylvania.

According to observers, Gleason, to stave off any resolution against Scott, pleaded for "unity" in the party and claimed that Scott was a very popular figure in the Quaker State.

Shortly after Gleason's comments, Arizona's YR state chairman, Larry Richmond, reminded the convention that Arizona, too, had had a senator who was extremely popular in the state, but that hadn't prevented Scott and the Eastern liberals from knifing him; the Pennsylvania people, he said, weren't whining about "unity" then. The anti-Scott resolution was resoundingly adopted.

Said the resolution: "It is . . . with deep dismay that we note an effort by certain minority elements in the Republican party to shatter GOP unity, to attack and degrade other Republicans, including national leaders of our party, and to endorse and promote the Democratic 'Great Society' program which has been repudiated by the voters.

"These divisive attacks, which have continued up through and after the election day, stem from a small, unrepresentative organization called 'The Ripon Society.' [See *Human Events,* October 29, pages 8 and 9.] This supposedly Republican group has published a book criticizing the national leadership of the Republican party, including National Chairman Ray Bliss and House leaders Gerald Ford, Melvin Laird, Leslie Arends and John Rhodes. The book openly endorsed the Democratic 'Great Society.'. . . .

"We therefore call on Young Republicans everywhere to repudiate the views of this group and its attacks on the leadership of our party.

"We are in addition dismayed to note that the book criticizing the Republican leadership and endorsing Democratic programs contains an enthusiastic foreword by Sen. Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania. . . .

"In defense of the many good Republicans mentioned in this book, we deplore Sen. Scott's endorsement of it and the prominent use of his name in promoting it. . . .

The Ripon Society, backed by Sen. Scott, has attacked such leading GOP figures as Ray Bliss, (left), and Leslie Arends.

"We further deplore the extension of the attacks, by Sen. Scott, to the members of the Young Republican National Federation, who have been subjected to smears of every sort in a steady campaign of vilification. Sen. Scott's use of such slanderous phrases as 'bigoted immature hellions' and 'brain twisted deviates' to describe fellow Republicans is shocking and irresponsible.

"It is clear the Ripon Society-Scott axis has embarked on a campaign of 'rule or ruin' in the Republican party and has sought to make the Young Republican National Federation the whipping boy for its attacks. We have held our silence so long as these unfair attacks were directed only at ourselves, but when they are expanded to include the entire national leadership of our party, we can remain silent no longer."

• In spite of their recent support of Ray Bliss, Young Republican officials are convinced that the Republican National Committee (of which Bliss is chairman) is out to sabotage the present YR organization.

On November 22, a press release went out from the National Committee announcing the formation of a new program "to intensify recruitment of youth into the Republican party. . . ." Entitled "Opportunities Unlimited," the program will be supervised by the National Committee's Arts and Sciences Division headed by Dr. John M. Hunger. Chairman of the project is Howard Phillips, assistant to Dr. Hunger. The program will open its first conference Saturday, December 10, on the campus of the University of Wisconsin at Madison.

While the Republican National Committee denies it, many YRs are convinced that the "Opportunities Unlimited" program is designed to be a rival organization to the YRNF and actually hopes to wean away present YRNF membership.

YR officers stress they were never consulted about the formation of this program, even though the press release says they are "co-sponsors," and Wisconsin YR leaders were not brought in on planning the first conference in Madison.

Senior party officials at the RNC, say the YRs, have never liked the independence of the YRs and they hope to develop a youth organization the RNC can control and which can check the expansion of the older group.

Germany's New Gov't

Diplomatic Row is somewhat alarmed at the shifting winds blowing through West Germany at the moment. While the liberal press has its keen eye fixed on "neo-Nazism," realistic diplomatic observers remain far more concerned about the growing German desire to appease the Communists and the as yet undetermied hold Socialist party leader Willy Brandt will have over the new regime.

ERHARD

For the first time since the establishment of the new German Republic in 1949, West Germany will be ruled by a Democratic-Socialist coalition government.

The press has made much of the Nazi background of the new chancellor, Christian Democrat Kurt Georg Kiesinger, who last week succeeded Ludwig Erhard, 69. (Erhard's coalition with West Germany's third party, the Free Democrats, fell apart October 27 in a budget dispute over raising taxes to pay for American weapons.) But it is generally conceded that Kiesinger's Nazi past has no bearing on his current thinking or the policies of the Christian Democrats.

What is far more intriguing to tough-minded diplomats is the effect the Socialists will have on German policy.

While the Christian Democrats will still retain the major positions of power, the Socialists were granted nine cabinet positions, with party leader and West Berlin Mayor Brandt holding down the vital post of vice chancellor and foreign minister.

Brandt's influence over German affairs is highly disturbing to observers of the Western alliance who

KIESINGER

BRANDT

think his newly announced "appeasement" policies would bring disastrous results for the West should they ever catch on in Germany.

Not long before the formation of the Democratic-Socialist coalition, Brandt pledged a new foreign policy based on "increasing security through reducing tensions." This program included the paraphernalia of the left-wing Democrats in this country, such as:

• Full diplomatic relations with Communist-ruled nations of Eastern Europe.

• Support of an East-West treaty to ban all atomic tests.

• A mutual reduction of allied and Communist-bloc troop levels in central Europe.

Brandt made some other ominous appeasement and pacifist sounds. "German policy gains both influence and weight," Brandt said, "when it actively participates in reducing tensions. . . . Bonn must not and cannot block every forward step toward reducing East-West tensions with demands that progress on the German question must be achieved first."

West Germany's Socialist party leader went on to suggest that only if the Communists are finally convinced that nobody ever need fear a united Germany would the Reds ever permit unification. To "convince" the Communists, however, Germany would have to become—at the very least—a "neutralist" power, with no military alliances.

Brandt's policies, taken to their logical conclusion, would effectively remove Germany from the pro-Western bloc of nations. Hence the deeply troubled faces regarding Brandt's role in the new German government. (For a discussion of how the United States let down Erhard, see John Chamberlain on page 13.)

Kuchel's Decline

Republican politicos in California are convinced more than ever that Sen. Thomas H. Kuchel (R.-Calif.) will face a stiff primary fight in the Golden State two years hence.

KUCHEL

The Senate's GOP minority whip, who has a long history of refusing to endorse prominent Republican candidates in California and would not back Ronald Reagan during his successful campaign, opened himself to further antagonism from regular Republicans just last week. Asked at a press conference if he had, at least, voted for Reagan, Kuchel declined to say. He also failed to name him on a list he gave of "forward-looking" Republicans.

Concerning plans for 1968, Kuchel professed he would relish a primary fight against Dr. Max Rafferty, the conservative superintendent of public instruction and newspaper columnist, or welcome a race against Democratic Mayor Sam Yorty in a general election. Both men have sounded like candidates and both have recently claimed that Kuchel should be a Democrat.

Kuchel, however, is obviously concerned about his standing in the party. He told newsmen: "I would hope the people of California would judge any man on the basis of what he stands for and on his record as an incumbent, not simply on whether he had indorsed other candidates."

• Some observers found Kuchel's comments on the riots at Berkeley somewhat amusing in view of his having tagged almost any Republican who voted for Goldwater as an "extremist." Asked about the students fomenting Marxism and turmoil on the Berkeley campus, Kuchel declined to call them extremists, noted only that they "tend to an extreme position." When, ask some, will Kuchel think they arrive there?

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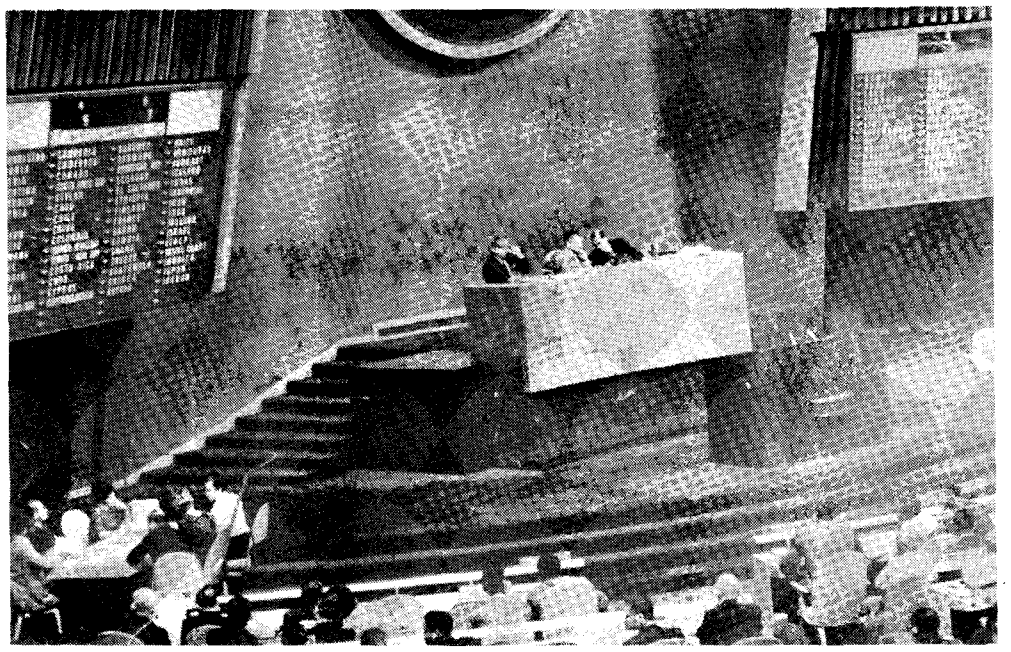

The U.N. General Assembly votes to reject Peking's bid for membership. A roll-call vote appears on page 12

Only Drastic Reform Will Save United Nations

Except for the Communists, world leaders have substituted numbers for power

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

Even the devoted partisans of the United Nations ("the world's sole hope of peace") admit, at least in private, that the international organization is sick. Unless something is done it may fade away and finally expire "not with a bang, but with a whimper," more or less as the League of Nations did in 1939.

But to be effective, any curative action can only follow a sound diagnosis of the U.N.'s malady. Where, in short, did it go wrong?

There are at least three current theories about this.

One, the most pessimistic, simply concludes that the world's peoples are not ready to substitute legislation and accommodation for force in the defense of what they believe to be legitimate interests.

The second thinks this may be true, but only so long as the world is so deeply divided between Communist and anti-Communist governments, with a third camp of greedy non-aligned states eager to take advantage of the main conflict for their own advantage. Once the adversaries "evolve" sufficiently toward each other, some students think, the United Nations will come into its own.

The third school, to which I belong, admits a little truth in both these analyses of the U.N.'s sickness, but believes that the main damage has been inflicted by the attempt of the world's leaders, with the exception of the Communists, to substitute numbers for power.

A first example of such substitution was Truman's by-passing of a Soviet veto on the U.N.'s defense of South Korea by slipping through the "Uniting for Peace Resolution," which transferred executive power from the Security Council to the Assembly. This worked at the time but since then, owing to opposition by France and the Soviet Union, the United States has bowed to their interpretation of the Charter. I shall be surprised if the Assembly ever again initiates "police actions" against anyone.

A second example of the neglect of power was the admission to the one-state, one-vote Assembly of a majority of "mini-states" lacking in the normal attributes of statehood. This could have been avoided by accepting minimum requirements for membership and a vote—so many people, such a financial contribution, such readiness to provide military help in case of need.

As a result, the United Nations has a majority of irresponsible members, most of them fanatical anti-colonialists, in whose eyes racial discrimination is a crime, while political discrimination based on party or tribe leaves them cold.

Under their influence, which has often extended to Washington (and to Secretaries General Hammarskjold and Thant), the United Nations' actions have been brazenly discriminatory.

It took a stand against Britain, France and Israel at Suez—and shook a finger while the Soviet Union crushed Hungary. It urges "action" against "racial" South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal, but had not blame for India's seizure of Portuguese Goa without any consultation of the inhabitants. It sees nothing wrong in India's occupation of Kashmir in defiance of a U.N. resolution calling for a plebiscite; it helped psychopathic Sukarno of Indonesia to seize Dutch New Guinea.

It was mum when North Viet Nam invaded South Viet Nam and sent troops into neighboring Laos. It has now condemned Israel for a stern reprisal against Jordan from which Arab terrorists, Syrian or Jordanian, had carried out a whole series of murderous outrages against Israel.

To be acceptable, an international authority must be legal and impartial. Legality is, in the last analysis, a matter of power. Ballots can substitute for bullets only when each ballot represents roughly the same power as any other.

To serve the cause of peace, an international organization must be non-discriminatory, ready to condemn and if necessary take action against any violator—by stern economic if not by military measures.

By violating the power principle and by permitting one-sided action against certain alleged violators of the Charter, the United Nations has dissipated most of the credit it originally enjoyed. In my judgment, only drastic reform will save it from the fate of the League of Nations.

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Barbara Garson's 'MacBird!'

For the Liberal 'Fair Is Foul, and Foul Is Fair'

By ALLAN H. RYSKIND

How can a person, properly buried in obscurity, thrust himself upon the national scene and bask in the warm and friendly glow of publicity shed by the liberal communications media?

Simple. Develop a devotion for Castro and the ability to deftly portray President Johnson and his wife as a pair of homicidal maniacs. If you don't think so, ask Mrs. Barbara Garson. By doing these things, she has come out from under her Berkeley bog to be lionized by liberals from coast to coast.

Mrs. Garson, 25, is a graduate of the University of California at Berkeley. She worked the leftist circuit there by joining the Free Speech Movement, the Trotskyite-Communist Young Socialist Alliance and UC's Fair Play for Cuba executive committee (Lee Harvey Oswald, of course, was the national Fair Play for Cuba's most famous member).

Describing herself as a "libertarian Socialist," she spent her honeymoon where every young leftist thinks of spending those glorious days: in Communist Cuba. After all, what's a honeymoon without Fidel?

Mrs. Garson and her husband Marvin, who was the leader of a demonstration against *Kennedy* (not Khrushchev) during the Cuban missile crisis, have landed in jail from time to time for circulating anti-war leaflets on military bases.

Such stuff, of course, is old hat for most leftists, but it nevertheless seems necessary in order to capture favorable national publicity. Mrs. Garson, however, is a cut above the humdrum leftist of today in that she possesses some competence with a pen.

Currently she has become the liberal "rage" for her play *MacBird*, a savage "satire" on Lyndon Johnson in which the plot generally parallels that of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*.

MacBird is no doubt the "in" thing among the liberals:

• The Nov. 27, 1966, Washington *Post* devoted a favorable half page to Mrs. Garson's play and appeared overwhelmed by its cleverness, calling it a "biting 56-page parody of *Macbeth*."

• Dwight Macdonald, a leading liberal "intellectual," said in *The New York Review of Books* that it is the "funniest, toughest-minded and most ingenious political satire I've read in years. . . ."

• Robert Brustein, an eminent theater critic and dean of the Yale Drama School, praised it in the New York *Times Magazine* and has said: "*MacBird* is one of the best and most-needed political parodies of the post-war period."

• Eric Bentley, professor of dramatic literature at Columbia University, has written: "If I were a producer, I would produce *MacBird* at once in as many American cities as possible. I would then sell it for production abroad. . . ."

As a direct consequence of writing her play, Mrs. Garson received a $5,000 grant from the Yale Drama School and backers have already put up $30,000 for an off-Broadway production which should open shortly. Published in pamphlet form by Mr. and Mrs. Garson's own Grassy Knoll Press, with Berkeley and New York links, the play is rapidly becoming a national best seller, with a second 20,000 printing planned in December.

What is it that the liberals find so delightfully amusing about *MacBird?* One wonders. Granted that it is well written and reveals wit in places, the 56-page "parody" is largely an unrelieved attack against LBJ—MacBird—picturing him as a vile murderer.

In this "ingenious political satire," LBJ and Mrs. Johnson deviously plot John Kennedy's assassination in Dallas; LBJ frames an innocent person for the murder; then he arranges for the killing of the innocent party; and, finally, he orders the chief justice to rig any probe of the murder.

But we have only begun to touch upon this vastly "amusing" play. President Johnson then attempts to assassinate Teddy Kennedy and is implicated in the death of Adlai Stevenson.

As the play comes to a frenzied close, and Johnson is indirectly blamed for arson, rape, looting and the stringing up of "niggers," there is this "satirical" colloquy between a messenger bearing news and Johnson (MacBird):

Messenger: Peace paraders marching!

MacBird: Stop 'em!

Messenger: Beatniks burning draft cards.

MacBird: Jail 'em!

Messenger: Negroes starting sit-ins.

MacBird: Gas 'em!

Messenger: Latin rebels rising.

MacBird: Shoot 'em!

Messenger: Asian peasants arming.

MacBird: Bomb 'em!

In the end, Mrs. Garson closes her "hilarious" drama by poking fun at President Johnson's bad heart and has him die of a heart attack.

In the highly favorable profile of her in the Washington *Post*, Mrs. Garson says she didn't really mean to imply that LBJ killed John F. Kennedy, but she adds: "[I]t doesn't worry me if people think he killed Kennedy. I really think I've got Johnson right *even if he didn't do it*" (emphasis added).

MACBIRD

MACBIRD: This here is the winter of our discontent,
Made odious by that son of . . .

CRONY: Yeah.

Just what is going on? How can the liberals who shrieked and beat their breasts bloody over the "climate of hate" supposedly created by "right-wingers" now lavish praise on Mrs. Garson's utterly vicious polemic?

Ah, they say, this is only *satire*. But what, indeed, is so hilariously funny about portraying the President of the United States as an assassin with genocidal tendencies?

No matter how vigorously one dissents from LBJ's policies, surely it is a horribly warped mind that writes down, even in "jest," that President Johnson rather relishes sending Americans boys to die or that he rejoices at the deaths of millions of people. Yet the clear thrust of this "satire" is that Johnson is a sort of 20th Century combination of Cesare Borgia and Attila the Hun.

In an as yet unpublished letter of protest to the Washington *Post*—a copy of which was sent to *Human Events*—a reader recalls that the liberal news media howled their indignant heads off when the Rat Finks—a faction of the

TOCSIN

Barbara Garson is shown here during a Free Speech Movement rally at Berkeley in 1964.

New Jersey Young Republicans—allegedly sang a song that clearly seemed to satirize the Nazis and anti-Semitism. The liberal press, however, chose not to interpret the verse as satire, but a song in praise of the Nazis.

"How surprising it was, then," adds the letter, "to discover in the November 27 issue of the *Post* a feature article about a new 'parody' of *Macbeth* called *MacBird,* written by a young radical leftist, Mrs. Barbara Garson. Mrs. Garson, says your article, 'with clever irony' casts President and Mrs. Johnson as the murderers of John Kennedy. Mrs. Garson is praised for her incisive wit and we discover that Yale Drama School has given her a $5,000 grant because of her delightful spoof.

"It is amusing to speculate what your reporter's reaction would have been had the exact same play been written by a member of the Rat Finks. Would Yale Drama School then have rushed to give the author a grant? But, of course, when a leftist chooses to 'satirize' the tragic events in Dallas and to call our President a murderer, it's an 'ingenious marriage of Elizabethan stylisms and topical satire' and it's all terribly funny."

Will Bombing Lull Hurt U.S. Troops?

By PAUL HARVEY

The pressure is increasing on President Johnson to halt our bombing of North Viet Nam.

Communism's apologists, of course, urge such a time-out.

Sincere humanitarians imagining, unrealistically, that there can be such a thing as "humane war," agitate for ending bombing. A handful of armchair strategists think this would be the best way to get the enemy to the conference table.

Even Pope Paul, urging a Christmas cease-fire, considers a cessation of bombing the first step toward that objective.

The Pentagon says no—please, no! Our military men are convinced that the enemy in Viet Nam would only use such a lull, as they did last year, to repair bomb damage, recoup, regroup—and hit us harder.

Robin Moore, author of *The Green Berets,* returned from Viet Nam with specific recommendations from the men on the line.

His purpose was not to translate the opinions of our war chiefs, but rather to relay to you what the dogfaces have to say.

Moore says our noncom fighting men are most concerned about three things:

"Stop worrying about world opinion or there won't be any world left to worry about."

"Get the politicians off our backs; let military men wage this war to win."

And three: "Please, no bombing lulls; the enemy loves bombing lulls."

Viet Nam is, in many ways, a different kind of war than Americans have ever fought before.

For one thing, the enemy takes almost no prisoners. In World War II 12 per cent of our troop losses became prisoners of war. In Korea, the ratio of captives to casualties was down to 5 per cent. So far, in Viet Nam, the enemy has taken only .2 per cent prisoners, fewer than 100 men.

So forget about the "humanitarian appeal" with this kind of people.

A major purpose of our Special Forces in this war is to try to get South Vietnamese to do more of their own fighting. For example, our men are expected to participate in tribal ceremonies where they become blood brothers of the Vietnamese mountain men, in order to encourage their cooperation.

Some of these tribal ceremonies which Moore has described are too gory for men to reduce to words. They are altogether as hideously barbarian as anything Ruark reported in Africa in his *Something of Value.* The ceremonies involve the most ghastly misuse of men and children and animals.

And, whatever their indoctrination, it occurs to our own men sometimes that if we must turn barbaric in order to win allies, this is, indeed, an unworthy war.

But in this they all concur: If we are to stay in Viet Nam, *let us win* the war! That will certainly require more bombs—over more of the fat targets—and, in the name of the living who are doing the dying—no lull—no time-out—no more favors to the enemy—please!

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Pacifist David Miller burns his draft card, for which he was indicted and convicted under a new stiff federal law forbidding such activity.

Draft Card Burnings Decline As Federal Law Is Enforced

From the Allen-Scott Report

The crackdown on draft card burners enacted by the recent Congress is paying off.

The first convictions under Public Law 89-152, prohibiting the mutilation and destruction of draft cards, already are drastically reducing the number of these outrages.

While anti-draft and anti-war demonstrations are continuing on college campuses at about the same rate, the numerous and highly publicized card burning incidents of 1965 have all but ceased in recent months.

Justice Department authorities are crediting the sharp decline to recent convictions and the decisions of higher courts upholding the crackdown law. Stiff sentences—ranging from one to two years—being handed out by federal judges also are believed to be discouraging violations.

As voted by Congress at the height of the draft card burnings, the curb provides that "persons who knowingly mutilate or destroy a draft card" can be imprisoned up to five years and/or fined up to $10,000.

In the first report to the House Judiciary Committee on the impact of this law, the Justice Department stressed that "the net effect of the first convictions, which were affirmed on appeal, has been to greatly slow down the number of offenses."

Also, that "There have been only 30 draft card burnings during 1966 compared with 78 similar incidents during the first five months of 1965 after the law was enacted."

In several recent FBI investigations it was found that old out-of-date draft cards were burned by student protesters as a stratagem to escape prosecution.

The Justice Department has obtained 16 indictments since launching its enforcement drive. In the first 10 cases there were 10 convictions. Of two convictions appealed to higher courts, Justice Department attorneys have won both.

Several other cases will be ready for trial early in December. Additional indictments are expected from federal grand juries before the end of the year.

The first arrest and conviction growing out of the new law was that of David Miller, the pacificist who publicly burned a draft card in New York City a year ago.

Still under study by the Justice Department is a request by members of the House Judiciary Committee to prosecute Stokely Carmichael, the militant "Black Power" leader, for urging Negroes to avoid the draft.

According to these lawmakers, the FBI has completed an investigation of Carmichael and turned its findings over to the Justice Department's Criminal Division, which handles draft cases.

Carmichael, a naturalized citizen who boasts he will go to prison rather than be drafted, may face the test early next year.

Selective Service officials have told members of the House Armed Services Committee that in February many draft boards, including those in New York, where Carmichael is registered, will start drafting men 26 to 35 years old because of the diminishing manpower pool. Carmichael is 26.

★ ★ ★

Fidel Castro is forming a "Red Guard" of his own. His compulsory military service boards are enrolling Cuban youths between the ages of 12 to 16 in a so-called Military Unit to Aid Production.

Refugees from Cuba are telling U.S. authorities that once the youths are recruited, those deemed ardently pro-Castro are then assigned to "Red Guard" units. The other youths are sent to "work battalions."

According to one young Cuban who escaped, the "Red Guards" are being given intensive training in small arms, close-order drill and staging demonstrations. All the "Red Guards" also are required to pledge to go to North Viet Nam. However, there is no evidence so far that any have left Cuba. Youths who refuse to sign such papers are shipped to work battalions.

Intelligence authorities, who are convinced these refugee reports are accurate, estimate that Castro's "Red Guards" now total around 7,000. This figure is based on information that there are now 14 "Red Guard" camps with approximately 500 youths undergoing training in each of them.

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No 4-Year House Terms

For More Frequent Elections

By HENRY HAZLITT

Another thing the last elections proved was how fortunate it is that we are not operating under the constitutional amendment President Johnson proposed last January.

His proposal was that the terms of members of the House of Representatives be extended from two years to four, but that their elections and terms be made coincident with the President's.

Had such a setup been in effect this year, there would have been no elections to the House. The lopsided balance of 295 Democrats to 140 Republicans would have continued, and we would face the prospect of even more expensive and reckless "Great Society" programs. As it is, the outlook is for a much more independent Congress, for a slowdown in the drive toward ever-greater federal power and paternalism, and even for a re-examination of some of the scores of laws that were passed with so little thought and so much haste.

The tendency of Mr. Johnson's proposal, as it stood, would have been still further to increase a President's personal power; to make the argument plausible that the party majority in the House had been elected on his coattails and had better hang on—in brief, to produce a servile, rubber-stamp Congress. In addition, it would have removed any effective test of changed public opinion for four long years.

Yet one part of Mr. Johnson's proposal was sound. This is the desirability of extending the terms of representatives from two years to four. With a four-year term they would have more time to learn their jobs and to acquaint themselves with issues. They would not need to devote as much time and expense to getting themselves re-elected.

Individual House members could enjoy these four-year terms, and at the same time be made more independent of the President, by a constitutional amendment that would provide for overlapping terms. The best arrangement would be one under which one-fourth of the members of the House would be elected for a four-year term each year.

There would be nothing in this change contrary to the spirit of the Constitution. On the contrary, the Senate already has precisely this system of overlapping terms. It is a continuous body, with one-third of its membership elected for six-year terms every two years.

The election of one-fourth of the members of the House every year would in fact carry out one of the purposes of the framers of the Constitution more effectively than now. The authors of the *Federalist Papers* argued that "frequent elections" would best assure that the House of Representatives would have "an immediate dependence on and an intimate sympathy with the people."

An election changes more than it appears to change. The last election, for instance, in which the Republicans gained 47 seats, still left the Democrats with a heavy majority of 248 to 187. But the unexpected Republican gains (even more striking in governorships and state legislatures) are more important psychologically than numerically. Even many of the Democrats who were re-elected will now take a more conservative stance.

It would be unhealthy for policies to be fixed for four long years by the mood or fears of a single election. Annual elections, even though they made only partial changes, would make both Congress and the President more responsive to public opinion. It would keep the voters' interest in the policies of their government consistently alive. It would give them a sense of continuous control of these policies.

In Great Britain intense interest is often taken in a single by-election to fill a vacancy in Parliament for whatever indication this may give of a new temper or verdict of the voters. Annually staggered elections to Congress would do this in a systematic way.

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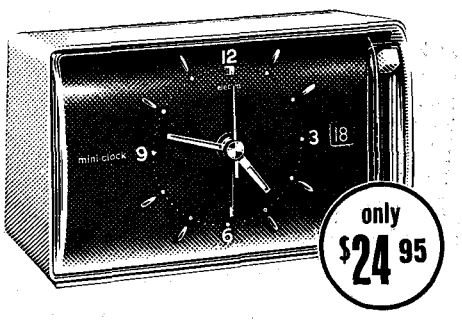

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McNamara According to Burnham—Not Quite

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

In the November 15 issue of *National Review*, James Burnham chooses to excoriate *Human Events* and this writer for having pointed up the failures of Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara. Of us and other critics, he wrote, "The fact of the matter is that [their] judgment on McNamara and his assignment as Good Guy or Bad Guy comes first, prior to the evidence. The evidence is brought in only subsequently, to clothe the raw judgment—sprung from emotion, pre-formed attitude, interest and some decent, rational-looking attire."

This blanket castigation of the McNamara critics unfortunately savors of the unreasoning polemic and not of the conscientious scrutiny of the scholar we have come to expect from Mr. Burnham.

Indeed, with one arrogant sentence, Mr. Burnham brushes aside such eminent and honest authorities as Sen. John McClellan (D.-Ark.), who opposed McNamara's TFX decision; Dr. Edward Teller, who has vigorously disagreed with the defense secretary's position on a whole range of issues, including the development of the anti-ballistic missile; Hanson W. Baldwin, a Naval Academy graduate and the distinguished military editor of the New York *Times*, and Nathan Twining, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Rickover's Criticism

Burnham's coupling the names of Hyman Rickover and Robert McNamara as "the lonely pair in the Navy's top echelons with favorable myths" was unfelicitous and should not be read as indicating any sympathy of thought patterns between the two, as Burnham distinctly implies.

Adm. Rickover, in fact, as Mr. Burnham seems unaware, is the one officer on active duty who has the gumption to talk forthrightly to Congress about Defense Department mismanagement. Rickover understands the structure and functioning of our government and the vital importance of giving full and frank advice to Congress—even though the defense secretary has tried to muzzle many military men.

In his testimony before the House Appropriations Committee on May 11, 1966, Adm. Rickover explained how backward and reactionary had been the Defense Department decision to oppose the nuclear frigate program. He went on, however, to bawl out Congress for refusing to vigorously oppose Secretary McNamara when such action was necessary:

"Here is a classic case where Congress took the step—over the objections of the Department of Defense—of providing a ship it believed the Navy needed.

"Just how successful was Congress?

"Your committee report specifically stated the action you wanted executed. The action was not taken. Have you received an explanation why the instructions in your report have not been carried out? Or have you been ignored, just as the Navy has been ignored?

"Just what is the purpose of the Appropriations Committee? Are you here merely to ratify decisions of the executive agencies? You know the picture of the Senate of the late Roman Empire sitting in their places with no other function than to ratify the actions already taken by the Emperor."

Without using the secretary's name, Adm. Rickover then made the most damning summation yet rendered of the McNamara administration:

"It is difficult for intellectuals when placed in positions of authority to refrain from exercising power. Often theoretical people are being called upon to act as specialists, to make recommendations beyond their limited expertise.

"They tend to rely on their book knowledge in fields where technical competence, judgment, experience, wisdom and intuition are also necessary."

Rickover went on: "On a cost-effectiveness basis, the colonists should not have revolted against King George III, nor should John Paul Jones have engaged the *Serapis* with an inferior ship, the *Bon Homme Richard.*"

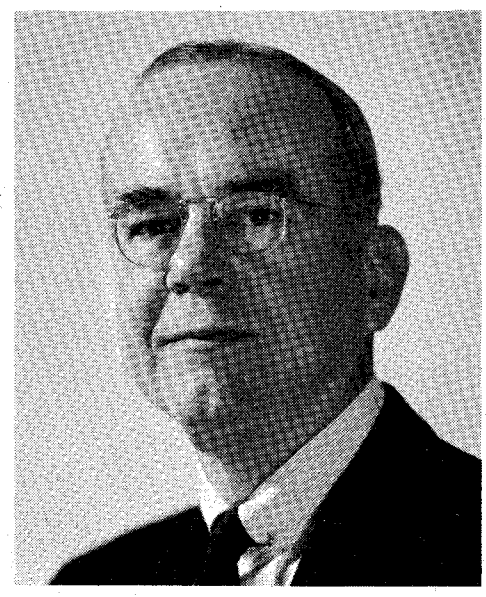
Claiming that the cost-effectiveness people had been proved dead wrong by coming out against a nuclear Navy, Rickover remarked: "The primacy of politics should not again be subordinated to the doctrinaire and unproven claims of specialists—particularly when these specialists are in a position of over-all authority and do not encourage or permit contrary views to be voiced or to be asserted."

Rickover, it seems, should have been listed in the Burnham demonology along with this writer and *Human Events* as one of McNamara's most severe critics.

Burnham's major premise is stated late in his analysis: "Robert McNamara's role has been, put briefly, to try to integrate the defense establishment into the structure of this country's advanced, managerial economy." In support of this premise, he describes a military establishment historically isolated from the general economy but now thrust suddenly into a new industrial and managerial revolution.

What are the facts? Even before the Viet Nam war escalated so grandly, the defense budget was roughly 10 times that of General Motors. Managers trained within the military services had handled bigger and more imaginative projects than any encountered by Mr. McNamara at Ford.

In truth, the managerial revolution is in large measure a product of our



National Review **author James Burnham, defender of McNamara, admits he is "an amateur."**

national military effort. War is the supreme test of managerial competence and our wars have been managed by men trained for the task. That is why men like Gen. James G. Harbord after World War I and Adm. Ben Moreell, Gen. Brehon Somervell and Gen. Lucius Clay after World War II were summoned to positions of leadership in industry.

Mr. Burnham's premise is pure mythology, based on a false assertion that the Defense Department was not fully meshed with modern management before McNamara. Our military forces had been mobilized since 1940. Their organizations and operating procedures had been established in consultation with the best managerial brains of the country. In reality, Mr. McNamara stepped up to a bigger job than he had ever handled in his civilian experience, and he hasn't measured up to the new challenge.

Method Unsatisfactory

Perhaps Mr. Burnham lacks the technical knowledge to criticize many of McNamara's bad decisions. But even in the most obvious facts the Burnham thesis is unseaworthy.

Charles Wilson of General Motors and K. T. Keller of Chrysler were masters of industrial management far surpassing McNamara in stature. One should not dismiss their contributions to defense management in order to create a McNamara legend. The logical and correct deduction is that Robert McNamara has failed to comprehend the true dimensions of the defense task which they so readily perceived.

Defense Secretary Robert McNamara recently announced the purchase of additional military hardware to replace his Viet Nam war losses.

As the new manager of the Defense Department, Robert McNamara tackled his job with vigor. He had no misgivings about making professional decisions. He had only to identify the problem, weigh the options and make a choice. This was just what he had been doing in business.

It didn't work.

What Savings?

In some purely business aspects of defense management, the Harvard Business School method worked well and had long been used by the military services. In other problems there were imponderables of professional experience and judgment which could not be weighed in so many neat paragraphs. In these the methodology was no more useful than it would have been in surgery.

All large organizations develop waste and inefficiency—mainly because they comprise fallible human beings. The enormous defense establishment is no exception. Good management seeks to reduce these delinquencies, but it cannot eliminate them.

Secretary McNamara has made a big show of his management savings. His predecessors had done the same thing, with less show. And yet the audit reports revealing stupid mismanagement come out just as frequently as they did before McNamara. I have seen no competent finding that these mistakes have been appreciably reduced in quantity or quality; McNamara has simply sought to bury them in a barrage of favorable publicity.

Rep. Porter Hardy (D.-Va.), chairman of the House Armed Services Special Investigations subcommittee, has found after a careful appraisal of the secretary's claimed savings in defense management that the McNamara reports are unreliable and misleading, larded with phony statistics.

Assistant Secretary of the Navy Graeme C. Bannerman, in fact, testified before the Hardy subcommittee that the Defense Department was taking credit for savings actually initiated *before* McNamara ever came into office.

In his campaign to improve defense efficiency, Secretary McNamara has had a mixed bag. Of course he has made

About the Author...

Maj. Gen. Lane, who retired from active duty in 1962, has had a varied military and civilian career. A 1928 graduate of the U.S. Military Academy, he also received a bachelor of science degree in civil engineering from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In addition he was an instructor in Military History at West Point. After serving with the Corps of Engineers in several posts both in this country and abroad, Gen. Lane in 1943 joined the Engineer Staff of Gen. Douglas MacArthur at General Headquarters, Southwest Pacific Area, and participated in plans and operations of the campaigns from New Guinea to Japan. For this service, he was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal.

In 1945 he returned to this country and became a member of the Joint Operations Review Board. From 1946 to 1948 he was an instructor with the Air Command and Staff School of the Air University. He then served as district engineer on construction projects in Arkansas and the Ryuku Islands.

In 1954, Gen. Lane was recalled to Washington to serve as Engineer Commissioner of the District of Columbia, one of the three men who run the district government. From 1957 to 1960 he was commanding general of Fort Leonard Wood, Mo., and from 1960 until his retirement in 1962 he served as president of the Mississippi River Commission overseeing flood control and navigation improvement.

After his retirement, Gen. Lane began writing a column on military affairs which has appeared in such papers as Human Events, *the St. Louis* Globe-Democrat *and the Cincinnati* Enquirer. *He has long been a critic of Secretary McNamara and gave early and repeated warnings about the disastrous course of U.S. policy in Viet Nam. He is president of Americans for Constitutional Action.*

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many sound and constructive decisions. In other aspects, however, he has created new inefficiencies and inferior performance. He has imposed patterns of organization on the military services with scant regard for their different missions and operating characteristics.

Personnel Added

Mr. McNamara came into office intending to streamline top echelon Defense Department management. How well has he done?

While there were some 15 presidential appointees of the rank of assistant secretary of defense or higher in January 1961, there were 16 in January 1965. Whereas there were 11 deputy assistant secretaries of defense two years ago, there are about 30 today.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff were originally limited by law to 100 officers; Congress then increased this number to 400, a specific ceiling intended to prevent the development of a super-general staff. In early 1965, according to Mr. Baldwin, it numbered the full 400, plus another 1,170 military and civilian personnel. John C. Ries has pointed out in his book, *The Management of Defense*, that the "dogma of centralization" has triumphed in the Pentagon, with resulting weaknesses in our defense posture.

Mr. Burnham sees the "civilianization" of the defense establishment as a McNamara achievement. He points out that many jobs can be done by a civilian or by a man in uniform.

Of course, but that is not the issue. The Defense Department and its predecessor War and Navy Departments had long been staffed with highly talented civilian personnel who had tenure and gave continuity to headquarters organization. Past secretaries had claimed savings by replacing civilian personnel with military personnel, and by reversing the process, according to the political temper of the hour.

What is new in the McNamara operation is the attempt of technicians ignorant of war to arrive at policy judgments through computer analysis. This is a perversion of sound organizational principle.

The computer is a tool which can be used effectively only by people who know the game in which the computer is employed. It has no capacity for judgment which is not in the mind of the man who uses it. Therefore, in the hands of ignorant men, it points to ignorant conclusions.

TFX Scandal

It is this failure of Secretary McNamara to distinguish between technique and judgment which leads to the prevailing mismanagement of the defense portfolio, now increasingly revealed in reports from our fighting men returning from Viet Nam.

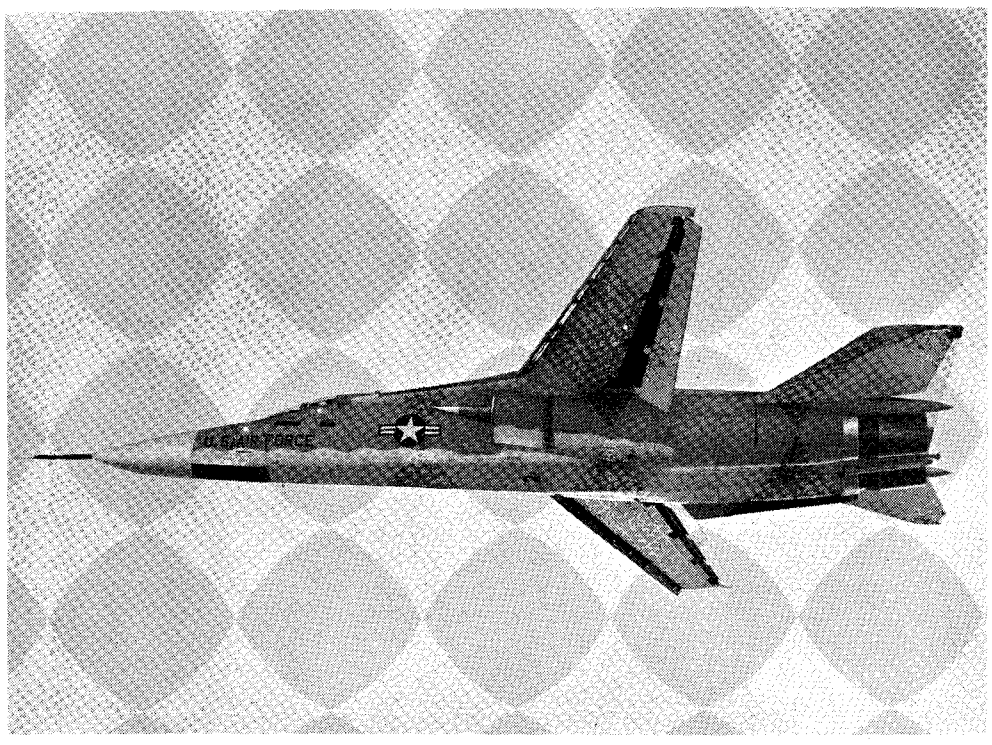
According to Burnham, the TFX is one of McNamara's magnificent accomplishments and represents a grand new design. In fact, the TFX fighter plane, to be used by both the Navy and the Air Force, is not a grand new concept. It was on the drawing boards before Mr. McNamara assumed his reign in the Pentagon. The plane is simply an attempt to apply to aircraft the concept of the multi-purpose tool which military developers had applied in other fields where it was useful.

But the multi-purpose tool is never as efficient for any one of its purposes as a tool designed especially for that purpose. Its application to combat aircraft had been considered and rejected. We don't send our pilots out in transport aircraft to do battle with enemy fighters.

Although military leaders knew that billions of dollars might be wasted on the secretary's obstinate adherence to an ancient illusion, they dutifully accepted his decision to develop an all-purpose plane and invited proposals.

A Source Selection Board had been appointed specifically to evaluate the TFX proposals. It was composed of senior and highly qualified departmental personnel insulated from political influence. After a series of four evaluation studies by experts of the Air Force and Navy Departments, the board reached the unanimous conclusion that the Boeing design was the better plane at a lower cost.

Secretary McNamara disregarded the board recommendation and awarded the contract to General Dynamics. When asked for the appraisal on which he had overturned the board recommendation, the secretary was extremely vague. Hurried attempts to compose a defense of the decision were made, but it finally turned out the decision had come solely out of McNamara's head. There had not even been a computer analysis in support of it.



The controversial TFX program, so stoutly defended by McNamara, has run into a thicket of operational problems. Disgusted by McNamara's approach, the director of the TFX project resigned.

Mr. Albert W. Blackburn, who had been the Defense Department expert in the management of the TFX program, resigned his office because he could not in good conscience support the McNamara decision.

Mr. Blackburn's credentials as an expert could hardly have been in doubt. A Naval Academy graduate, an aerodynamics engineer and a test pilot, he also held a master's degree in aeronautical engineering from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and he had had considerable experience with the North American Aviation Co., a manufacturer of airplanes.

For two years Blackburn had been assigned the job of keeping up with the day-by-day developments in the TFX program. It was Blackburn who had prepared a memorandum signed by McNamara in September 1961 which officially initiated the TFX program.

Yet Blackburn later testified on the controversial award to General Dynamics: " . . . this decision could be justified only on the basis of a broad, high-level policy of the Administration, and could not in any way be associated with the merits of the two proposals on either an operation, technical, management or cost basis."

Indeed, Comptroller General Joseph Campbell confirmed Blackburn's report by testifying that there were no cost figures to justify McNamara's decision.

This action by Secretary McNamara undermined the integrity of defense procurement activity. Under his predecessors, sound and honest contracting procedures had been established for the utilization of the productive resources of American industry. Every effort had been made to eliminate personal and political influence from decision making.

But, as this award shows, under McNamara political influence has intruded, corrupting the decision-making process. President Kennedy had set aside the established contracting procedures and McNamara had abetted him.

This new view that the vast funds of defense procurement were a suitable source of political patronage marked a degradation of government standards vastly more significant than the TFX itself.

In *Barron's* of August 15, J. Richard Elliott Jr. gave an appraisal of the progress of work under the TFX contract. Mr. Burnham stood on the apron at Fort Worth, found the TFX (now F-111) a "sweet plane" and dismissed the Elliott findings. Nevertheless, read Elliott if you want our best approximation of the truth.

The most important responsibility of the secretary of defense is to give advice to the President on war and national policy. He is the key presidential adviser on national security and his views affect our national survival. Above all, this is the job Secretary McNamara has so badly bungled.

Five Bad Years

These five years of the McNamara tenure have been the most disastrous half-decade in American history. Witness the most powerful country in the world being defeated on all fronts:

- There was the Bay of Pigs disaster in which the United States abandoned to defeat and capture a liberation force which it had organized and launched.
- There was the East German seizure of East Berlin, illegally dividing the city and building the Wall while President Kennedy observed the operation in a stupor of paralysis.
- There was the panic mobilization of 1961 and the shipment of units to Europe only to bring them home in 1962, because Khrushchev had frowned.
- There was the missile crisis of 1962 created by President Kennedy's abrogation of the Monroe Doctrine to permit the Soviet Union to introduce 25,000 of its military personnel into Cuba; and the denouement with the United States guaranteeing Castro against subversive movements from our shores.
- There was the abandonment of Laos, a country which Adm. Arleigh Burke planned to describe in this manner before his remarks were censored by the State Department: "Laos is the key to the whole of Southeast Asia." President Kennedy handed that key to Ho Chi Minh and we have been reaping the consequences in blood.

All of these issues involved the employment or the potential employment of U.S. military power. Why was President Kennedy so harassed by a militant Khrushchev? Why was he incapable of taking prudent measures to anticipate and counter these Soviet aggressions?

No doubt a major factor was his own lack of comprehension of the realities of international power. But Secretary McNamara bore the legal responsibility for anticipating these crises, for planning to meet them and for counseling the President on courses of action. It is no acceptable defense for Mr. McNamara to plead that he left these responsibilities to Secretary Rusk.

Mr. Burnham has noted that Secretary McNamara is often blamed for decisions which were apparently made by others. But surely he must bear the responsibility when he tries to muzzle the military opinion which he is supposed to represent.

Military Censor

Mr. McNamara is supposed to be the spigot between the President and the military departments. He can let the professional military views of national policy flow freely to the White House, as his office requires, or he can effectively deny the President access to such advice. Secretary McNamara has chosen the latter course.

Objection or dissent by military officials, even to Congress, are discouraged. He has pressured the Joint Chiefs of Staff to sign written statements that the Administration's defense budget is adequate. He has, according to Mr. Baldwin, "censored, deleted and altered statements to Congress by the chiefs of the services and their secretaries. He has downgraded, ignored, bypassed or overruled the advice of the Joint Chiefs."

It is common knowledge that when Chief of Naval Operations William Anderson disagreed with "boss" McNamara, he was eased out of his job; so was Gen. Curtis LeMay. This sort of tyrannical activity by McNamara has been repeated in dozens of cases.

One now notorious failure of President Kennedy was his reluctance to use the National Security Council as a forum for hammering out national policy. He preferred to take his foreign policy direct from Sen. Fulbright, without the disturbing challenges to it which have been raised in National Security Council sessions.

Secretary McNamara also introduced into the advisory process innovations which effectively hobble the President. From the false premise that any small conflict can escalate into nuclear war, he argued that all decisions on the use of force must be made by the President. Therefore, it became the duty of the Defense Department to provide the President the data and communications required for making and implementing decisions.

The consequence is that we see Presidents Kennedy and Johnson

(Continued on next page)

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acting like squad leaders, making decisions which should have been left to their subordinates.

All President Kennedy had to do to assure the success of the Bay of Pigs operation was to caution his subordinates not to fail. President Johnson's preoccupation with target selection in North Viet Nam betrays this McNamara misconception of war. Instead of fulfilling his responsibility for giving practical advice, the secretary is passing the data and the buck to the President for decision.

It is quite accurate to say that both Presidents have been dependent upon Secretary McNamara for advice and that his default has shaped the disasters of this decade.

Seeks Parity

McNamara's general defense policy has followed the thesis of the Phoenix Papers that parity of power between the United States and the Soviet Union would serve the cause of world peace because neither side would then have the superiority required to start war.

He has taken his philosophy of war not from the professional military men he is supposed to represent in the Cabinet council, but from academicians and pacifists playing at peace. He has apparently shared the belief of Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner and Dr. Herbert F. York that "disarmament, or arms limitation, is the only way to political salvation," and that therefore continued technological military development worsens the situation.

It is for this reason that Hanson Baldwin says: "The Republicans protest too much when they allege that the Pentagon, under Mr. McNamara, has not produced a single new weapons system. But it is at least true that virtually all the major—and most of the minor—weapons systems in operation or in development today [Polaris, Minuteman, B-70, TFX or F-111; AR-15 rifle, ect.] were already in production, development or in preliminary design and specification from back in the 1950s."

Consistent with his "parity" philosophy, McNamara has been waiting impatiently for the Soviet Union to develop a sure second-strike capability through hardened missile sites.

In other words, he hopes the Soviets can develop a weapons system that could survive more than one strike. According to Stewart Alsop, the secretary believes the Soviets should develop this capability quickly, "the sooner, the better."

Anti-Missile Lack

John G. Norris reported in the Washington *Post* of Jan. 31, 1963, that Secretary McNamara had decided to abandon Air Force plans to destroy hardened Soviet missile sites. McNamara seems persuaded that peace should be sought by reducing the relative strength of the United States vis-a-vis the Soviet Union.

In opposing the deployment of an anti-missile system, McNamara has argued that we should not take steps to save 80 million Americans lives in nuclear war because this would upset the balance of deterrence and initiate a new arms race. No such reluctance to save Russian lives has deterred the Soviet Union from deploying an anti-missile system when adequate development had prepared the way.

This McNamara policy of balancing U.S. and Soviet power involves risks which are intolerable and unnecessary. This misinformation which our intelligence agencies have in the past produced about Soviet development shows how uncertain are the measures of parity. In an era of new and startling technological development, the nation which rests complacently on parity will awaken one morning to find itself hopelessly outclassed.

The premise that U.S. superiority is a potential cause of war seems to be derived from a solicitude for the survival of Communist governments. U.S. superiority has not caused nuclear war, but an armaments race might well crack the inferior totalitarian economies and precipitate internal revolution. How can these defense intellectuals assume that the Soviet Union, which has avowed its purpose of conquering the world, and the United States, which has demonstrated its respect for the sovereignty of other nations, are equally capable of starting a world war?

Any discussion of unilateral disarmament evokes boasts of the money McNamara has saved in curtailing the ambitious projects of the military services. The action is routine.

Long before McNamara, the developmental sequence had been established ing defense budgets. It is he who has been wasteful because he has not comprehended the fundamental issues of war and peace.

The payoff is Viet Nam. There the full magnitude of the secretary's failure is exposed in all its horror. There should not be any war in Viet Nam. And there would not be if the power of the United States had been prudently employed.

View the war in perspective. The most powerful nation in the world is bogged down and being defeated by an impoverished half-nation of 16 million people. The United States is being defeated because it has for five years failed to secure South Viet Nam from North Viet Nam's aggression, and this is the avowed purpose of its presence. You must close your eyes to the reality before us in order to believe that the United States can win peace in Viet Nam with its present strategy.

Why are we gripped by this intellectual paralysis? At any time in the past five years, the United States could have won this war in six months with fewer casualties than it actually sustained in that six-months period. Why has it instead moved from escalation to escalation?

The answer lies in the failure of Secretary McNamara to comprehend the most fundamental realities of war and to fulfill his responsibility for shaping sound national policy.

He subscribes to the fallacy that appeasement avoids war. He embraces the pacifistic illusion that restraining our arms leads the aggressor to practice a corresponding restraint.

There is no question here of destroying North Viet Nam, nor even of capturing Hanoi, though other considerations may commend such moves. This is a simple issue of fighting the enemy who is attacking you. When you allow him sanctuary in Laos and Cambodia, you make his defeat and the defense of South Viet Nam impossible. When you release our forces to attack and destroy him in his bases in those countries, you end the war, because he cannot fight this war at all without the advantage of sanctuary.

The United States failure is intellectual. Soviet strategists have imposed on our leaders the thought that not aggression but a lawful defense against aggression causes war. The relevant truth is, of course, that only a forthright repulse of the aggressor deters war. A conciliatory attitude invites war.

The victim of aggression must strike back. To fight on his own soil and subject his own people to the destruction of the battlefield is appeasement. Only the clear cost of his conduct to the potential aggressor can deter his attack.

In more than six years of Eisenhower support to South Viet Nam, only one American was killed by hostile action. Since then, more than 5,500 have been killed, and the rate of killing is increasing. What more stark measure of the McNamara failure could there be?

This war was started because Soviet strategists saw authority in the United States being transferred to a group of visionary intellectuals, ignorant of the uses of power and filled with illusions about peace making. The National Liberation Front for South Viet Nam was organized in Hanoi in December 1960 and the timing was not unrelated to the election of John F. Kennedy to the presidency of the United States in the preceding month. Soviet intelligence was fully aware of the strategic aberrations of the Kennedy entourage.

The business talents of Robert McNamara rest upon a singularly narrow base. His intellect and operating method partake more of the character of the comptroller than of the entrepreneur. He analyzes activity and presents the evidence to the boss for decision. He is demanding of subordinates and deferential to superiors as a good comptroller should be. He has the ruthlessness of a comptroller in search of a profit.

His business career shaped Robert McNamara not as a decision maker but as a staff aide. Though he also held executive responsibility at Ford, his basic strength was accounting. In defending his decision on the TFX to Clark R. Mollenhoff, Secretary McNamara said, "I know what I'm doing. I was the second-highest-paid accountant in the United States."

But defense is not that kind of a job. It requires men of the stature of James Forrestal and Charles Wilson, men who were experienced decision makers, men who used statistics but stood above them in viewing the totality of organizational interest. They realized that the responsibility of the secretary of defense is not to suppress the military appreciation of the national interest but to absorb, to comprehend and to represent that appreciation in the Cabinet.

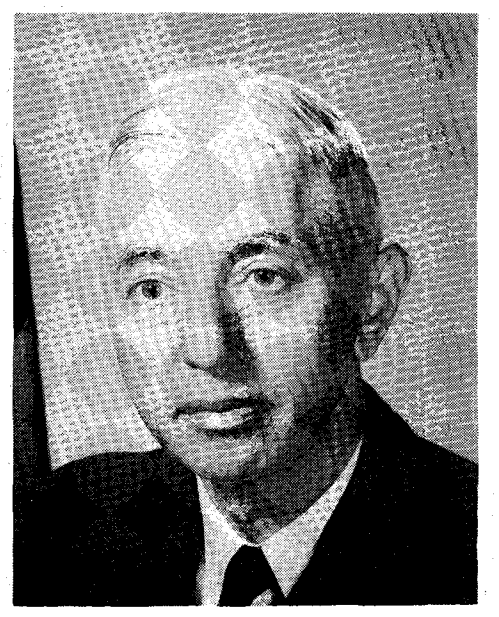
It is in the nature of the McNamara intellect to be a comptroller, to concentrate on statistical analysis and to miss completely the larger aspects of war. In giving Presidents the kind of assurance they desired that their political objectives could be achieved, he has led them into failure in war, the worst fate which can befall a nation.

Because the McNamara failure is basically intellectual, it is irremediable. Mr. Burnham's views notwithstanding, the secretary simply lacks the mental equipment to handle the job. That is why five years of experience have brought no improvement in his performance and why the United States continues today to be bogged down in a totally unnecessary war.

These Three Experts Have Criticized Secretary McNamara's Policies

Sen. John McClellan (D.-Ark.)

Gen. Nathan F. Twining, USAF (Ret.)



Adm. Hyman Rickover, USN

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This McNamara policy of balancing U.S. and Soviet power involves risks which are intolerable and unnecessary. This misinformation which our intelligence agencies have in the past produced about Soviet development shows how to include the building of prototypes of the most promising concepts, the selection of the best prototype for production and curtailment of the others, and retirement of the obsolescent munitions from inventory. These are not McNamara innovations.

Of course, the retirement of the B-47 bomber was planned in the Eisenhower Administration when the B-52 and B-58 were developed. It is McNamara's plan to scrap the B-52 and B-58 without programmed replacement which is new. As to the adequacy of the F-111 (TFX) as a strategic bomber, let us accept the veto of the chief of air staff who obviously does not lightly oppose the secretary of defense.

Are missiles "the primary weapons system of our strategic defense"? This is like arguing whether the Army, the Navy or the Air Force is more important. It is an irrelevancy. We require a defense against the aggressions to which a potential enemy may resort, and missiles are a part of the answer. They have been useless in Viet Nam. They may sit out the century without ever being fired, even while war rages and other weapons are fully employed. They are necessary, but are only one element of our defenses.

Pentagon propaganda that without the McNamara restraint, generals and admirals would bankrupt the country is self-serving misrepresentation.

The services have always gone through the budgetary process of shaping security outlays to the national income. In an age when there has been no significant growth of Soviet strength, Secretary McNamara has been the author of escalat-

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What's in a Name?

For one thing, votes, as Adlai Stevenson III proved by winning in Illinois on November 8

By WILLIAM RENTSCHLER

The power of a familiar name borders on the terrifying.

Adlai E. Stevenson III proved the extent of that power November 8 by nipping at the finish line his Republican rival for treasurer of Illinois, while fellow Democrats from coast to coast were dropping like flies.

This is not to say that mild-mannered Adlai III is in any sense terrifying, or even that his tissue-thin victory should strike fear into the hearts of Illinoisans. But it does demonstrate that an instantly recognizable monicker like Adlai—given lustre by a famous forebear—can snatch sweet victory from the gaping jaws of defeat.

Had Adlai III's name been Jim or Borden or even Robert Louis, it is reasonable to presume he would have gone down with the others, but he was christened Adlai, and now he is launched on a political career that will lead to "who knows where."

What was Adlai's name worth in this specific instance? It clearly was the factor that generated—without equal time—full-blown articles in such national periodicals as *Look* and the *Wall Street Journal,* miles of extra copy in newspapers, and bonus words and pictures on radio and TV.

How many people voted for that distinctive name as a name unattached to a man—or for the memory of a man now gone? We can never know, of course, but it is safe to say that the number far exceeded the slender margin of his victory.

Earnest and apparently dedicated, without the wit and sparkle of his famous father, Adlai III wants a career in public life, and he clearly intends, by his own statement, to proceed as far as possible toward the pinnacle. Certainly his victory in this banner GOP year elevates him to a spot high up on the Democratic totem pole in Illinois.

Despite the elder Adlai's admonition to make a name for himself first as a lawyer, he took an early plunge when in 1964 he chose to run in Illinois' horrendous at-large election. The power of *that* name was persuasively demonstrated then and there, for Adlai III, green as grass, outdistanced the whole field of 236 candidates, among them some lawmakers of stature and wide experience.

His deportment in the legislature was well-nigh exemplary, as he hastened to introduce and co-sponsor a rash of reform-type bills. Some were sound, some flimsy and impractical, but he was offering "constructive solutions" and attempting to "improve the quality of state government," and who can quarrel with such noble motives?

This time around, Adlai III and his tireless, charming wife, Nancy, fought a good fight for a post he really didn't covet. But he was quickly seized upon and lionized as the newest hope of the ultra-liberals, many groping for some potential idol other than Bobby Kennedy.

Adlai III's campaign performance was uneven, not especially distinguished, and in some phases downright disillusioning. Even though in 1965 he co-sponsored House Bill 1133 providing for a state income tax, he denied in the heat of battle that he favored such a tax. Just three days before the election, Adlai told the Chicago *Sun-Times* he wanted to "make it unmistakably clear that I oppose a state income tax."

Democrat Adlai Stevenson III has been elected treasurer of Illinois in a big Republican year.

This posture elicited gentle censure even from the Bloomington *Pantagraph,* long owned in part by the Stevenson family. Editorialized the *Pantagraph:* " . . . We believe he did bend considerably from previous positions. . . . We hope he recovers from this and returns to his former advocacy of a graduated income tax. . . ."

At one point in the campaign, Adlai III, seemingly relying on the license of political nobility, lapsed into a state of near-McCarthyism when he snidely noted that his opponent had once worked in the office of Illinois Auditor Orville Hodge, later jailed for massive embezzlement. This raw and artless jab smacked of guilt by association, but Adlai quite arrogantly refused to apologize despite howls of understandable outrage from his foe.

Even though Adlai III said he "hoped"—probably quite sincerely—that the name thing wouldn't be decisive, he seldom missed a chance to invoke his father's glittering record or inject his father's favorite anecdotes into his speeches. Then, too, his newspaper ads blared forth "ADLAI III" in huge, black type, and foolishly overstated his case, as in this single, embarrassing line: "He is by far the outstanding force for good government in the state of Illinois, and everyone knows it."

The proliferation of Stevenson billboards likewise shouted "ADLAI III" in big, gold letters—ADLAI III and nothing more, for they rightly assumed nothing more was needed.

Terrifying? Yes, a little, when a name, a memory, an association, a fleeting twinge of emotion can be the decisive element in electing a man to high office, in handing over to him great power.

Others, too—Reagan and Rockefeller, Taft and Kennedy—benefit from names indelibly inscribed deep in the recesses of the American mind.

But Bobby isn't Jack, and young Adlai isn't his father. The new may even outshine the old, but who can tell for sure? Meanwhile, the power of that name is a matter of deep and legitimate concern.

BOOK NOTES

A Book-By-Mail Service For HUMAN EVENTS Readers

That we take note of a book here does not necessarily mean we fully endorse it, nor even that it is written from a conservative viewpoint. It means merely that we regard it as one which may have an impact on political thinking, and accordingly may be of interest to our readers.

THE EDITORS

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A LAW UNTO THEMSELVES by C. Northcote Parkinson (Houghton Mifflin, 232 pages, $4.95).

The author of Parkinson's Law makes another contribution to the literature of our times, and shows again that rarest of combinations: great erudition and sparkling humor. In this book about 11 men and women who have influenced his life, there emerges a portrait of the author that will be cherished by those many readers who have succumbed to the charm of his earlier volumes.

IMPERIAL AGENT: THE GOLENIEWSKY-ROMANOV CASE by Guy Richards (Devin Adair, 184 pages, $5.95).

Somewhere on Long Island, living under the watchful eye of the Central Intelligence Agency, Col. Michael Goleniewski hopes to convince a skeptical world that in his case truth is stranger than fiction. Goleniewski is a defected Polish intelligence officer, perhaps our most important espionage figure of the cold war. In the words of the CIA, he has made "major contributions to [America's] national security . . . at grave personal risk. . . ." What clouds his credibility in the minds of many is his amazing claim to being Prince Alexei Romanov, son of Czar Nicholas II and heir to the House of Romanov.

Following World War II, Goleniewski lived a dangerous dual role: He was a highly placed Communist intelligence officer as well as the leader of the anti-Communist underground in Europe, a movement he calls the Secret Circle. Thus he received intelligence information from both the Communist and anti-Communist camps. That data served to convince him that our CIA and State Department were badly penetrated by Soviet agents and were, therefore, unsatisfactory channels by which to transmit espionage information to the West.

Convinced that the FBI was the only agency free of this penetration, he sought to establish direct contact with J. Edgar Hoover, to whom he wished to furnish intelligence data, stipulating that no other agency was to learn his identity. The CIA, however, intercepted his messages and began replying to them in Hoover's name.

Goleniewski, believing he was in contact with the FBI chief, began providing leads which resulted in some of the cold war's most alarming exposures of Soviet agents highly placed in Western governments. These included George Blake and Gordon Lonsdale in England and Col. Stig Wennerstrom in Sweden, among many others. His distrust of the CIA soon proved well founded as his Communist superiors began frantically to track down the leak which they knew existed in their own system. To avoid detection, Goleniewski defected to the United States in 1961.

Among many amazing charges Goleniewski has leveled is the accusation that the CIA once paid over $1 million toward some purportedly anti-Communist scheme. This money, he claims, ended up being equally divided between the American and Italian Communist parties and the Russian KGB.

He also claims to have provided the CIA and other agencies the names of 19 Soviet agents in the CIA and State Department. Although swift and decisive action was taken against agents whom he exposed in the Swedish, British, Israeli and German governments, he says action has been taken against only one of the 19 agents he has identified in our government.

Author Guy Richards also examines in detail Goleniewski's claim that he is the heir to the House of Romanov. History has long supposed that Czar Nicholas and the royal family were assassinated by the Bolsheviks in 1918. In Goleniewski's account, the family actually was released after making a deal with Lenin and Trotsky. He relates that the family made its way to Poland where it assumed the "Goleniewski" identity and where his father, Nicholas, died in 1952, political conditions never having allowed him to surface from his clandestine life.

Goleniewski's contention that the CIA and FBI possess information proving that he is Prince Alexei has been verified by Herman Kimsey, former chief of research and analysis for the CIA, who is quoted as saying: "On the basis of what I know of the CIA investigation of Goleniewski's identity, I believe he is Czarevich Alexei . . . I do not know why the CIA has withheld the necessary proof. . . ."

Mr. Richards, an experienced newspaperman and presently the city editor of the New York **World Journal Tribune**, concludes after his long and probing investigation that Goleniewski's claims are legitimate. If that is so, it would seem that the CIA has bungled its mission by cutting off contact with the "Secret Circle" as well as covering itself with shame by supressing evidence that would establish Goleniewski's identity.

Beneficial Pressures on India

From the New York *Daily News*

U.S. food shipments to India have been delayed recently. This has caused a furious flap in that country's Parliament, where a charge was hurled on November 29 that the United States is using its food slowdown as a means of pressuring India's government into making new concessions to American companies that want to build fertilizer plants in India.

We hope the charge is true, and that such pressure will continue—and not only in India.

The United States cannot feed tens or hundreds of millions around the world indefinitely, much as it might like to. It is a life-and-death duty of our government to pressure the food-short nations, in every possible way, to step up their own food production capabilities.

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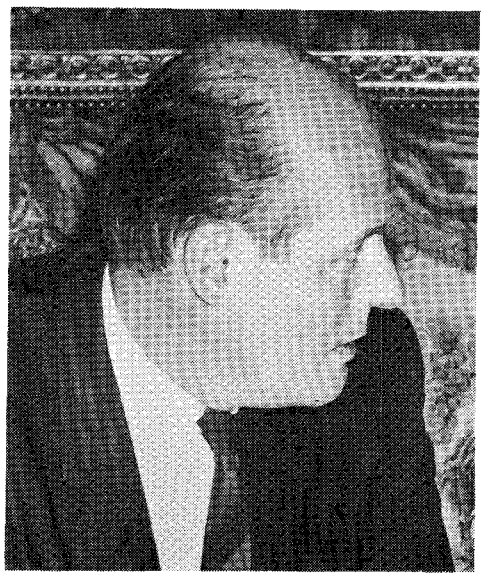

NICHOLAS KATZENBACH

Katzenbach vs. Hoover

Fight Brewing on Approval Of Soviet Consular Treaty

From the Allen-Scott Report

J. EDGAR HOOVER

Under Secretary of State Nicholas Katzenbach is apparently a glutton for punishment.

The former attorney general has, at his own request, tackled the extremely thorny job of trying to persuade the Senate to approve the long-stalled agreement between the United States and Russia to set up consular offices in their countries.

A leading opponent of this treaty is FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. The outspoken disapproval of the militant anti-Communist has been largely responsible for the Senate's failure to consider this pact, negotiated by the State Department with President Johnson's warm support.

State Department insiders say Katzenbach requested permission to lead a drive for Senate ratification of the consular agreement in order to force a showdown with Hoover over whether internal security or foreign policy should determine relations with the Soviet.

Katzenbach, who singled out Yuri Tchernyakov, counselor at the Russian embassy, as one of the first to be informed of this, argues that now is the time to expand U.S.-Soviet cooperation, and ratification of the treaty would be a tangible and effective step in that direction.

Since taking over the No. 2 position in the State Department, Katzenbach has consistently sided with Llewellyn Thompson, newly appointed ambassador to Moscow and a leading exponent of developing closer ties with Russia for the purpose of mutually countering Red China.

Hoover, who denounced the consulate treaty from the forum of a House Appropriations subcommittee, is credited as welcoming a direct confrontation over this issue with his former Justice Department boss.

Aides of Sen. Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.), leader of the Senate foes of the pact, say Hoover is eager to appear before the Foreign Relations Committee to present a detailed account of how Soviet consulates will be used to increase espionage in the United States.

A particular Hoover target is Article 19 that grants immunity from criminal prosecution to all employes of Russian consulates. Moscow insisted on this provision before agreeing to the treaty. It is claimed by Hoover this is unprecedented in U.S. consular agreements. Such pacts with other countries grant immunity only on misdemeanors, and not felonies.

If this article remains in the treaty, an FBI estimate given Sen. Dodd holds that "more than 400 Soviet espionage and intelligence agents assigned to proposed consulates in New York, Chicago, Detroit and Los Angeles would be guaranteed immunity from prosecution."

Moscow has indicated that if the pact is approved, it will seek to open consulates in these four cities. In contrast to these plans, the State Department intends to open only one in Leningrad.

When the Kremlin initially proposed the immunity provision, Hoover vigorously dissented on the ground it would open the way for Russia to set up a virtual "fifth column" without fear of prosecution.

Under the agreement, the only recourse the United States would have in the event a Russian spy was apprehended would be to deport him. Hoover contended this would greatly work to the advantage of the Soviet as the United States meticulously bars its consulates from intelligence activities.

Katzenbach, then attorney general, overruled Hoover. At the State Department's request, Katzenbach participated in the negotiations on the consular treaty, and reportedly assisted in drafting Article 19.

Sen. Dodd has strong bipartisan support in the Foreign Relations Committee in opposing the pact. Senators Bourke Hickenlooper (Iowa), senior Republican on the committee, Frank Lausche (D.-Ohio), John Williams (R.-Del.), and Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.), joined with Dodd in writing a letter to Sen. J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.), chairman, asking that both Katzenbach and Hoover be summoned to testify when the committee holds hearings on the treaty in January.

The five senators did this after President Johnson, in a communication to the committee, announced that "in January, I will ask for early congressional action on the U.S.-Soviet consular agreement."

An effort in the recent Congress to have Hoover present his views was blocked by Fulbright when he abruptly cut off committee hearings after only one witness, Secretary Rusk, had talked in favor of the treaty.

The consular pact was signed in Moscow June 1, 1964, by Ambassador Foy Kohler and Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko. Kohler, slated to become Rusk's chief adviser on Soviet affairs, will assist Katzenbach in trying to win Senate ratification.

* * *

A possible early test of strength between the two leading Republican presidential hopefuls is shaping up in the Senate.

Gov. George Romney and former Vice President Richard Nixon are privately supporting separate candidates for the influential chairmanship of the Senate Republican Campaign Committee.

Sen. Hugh Scott (Pa.), one-time GOP national chairman, is being backed by Gov. Romney to replace Sen. Thruston Morton (Ky.), when he steps down in January. Sen. George Murphy (Calif.), has the support of Nixon.

Fully recovered from a throat operation, Murphy is seeking the post so he can be influential in the 1968 presidential convention. Sen. Scott, with the help of Romney partisans, is appealing to senators for whom he campaigned in the recent election. These include Senators-elect Edward Brooke (Mass.) and Charles Percy (Ill.).

The principal function of the Campaign Committee is to raise funds for Republican senatorial candidates. The chairman exercises decisive influence in the allocation of these contributions, and as a consequence swings considerable weight in party councils.

Two other aspirants are in the field for the chairmanship – Senators John Tower (Tex.) and Jack Miller (Iowa), both reelected for second terms.

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HUD BARES ITS TEETH—Do federal controls follow federal aid? The Housing and Urban Development Department announced recently that it was suspending seven grants totaling $8.3 million for Montgomery County in Maryland because of "recent zoning actions by the County Council." HUD said there would be no further grants until there were "adequate and up-to-date comprehensive development planning and programming for Montgomery County."

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U.N. Refuses Red China Seat

Following is the voting record in the U.N. General Assembly on Nov. 29, 1966, on the resolution which would have seated Red China and expelled Nationalist China:

IN FAVOR—46

Afghanistan	Congo (Brazzaville)	Hungary	Nigeria	Syria
Albania	Cuba	India	Norway	Uganda
Algeria	Czechoslovakia	Indonesia	Pakistan	Ukraine
Britain	Denmark	Iraq	Poland	Soviet Union
Bulgaria	Ethiopia	Kenya	Rumania	Tanzania
Burma	Finland	Mali	Senegal	U.A.R.
Burundi	France	Mauritania	Somalia	Yemen
Byelorussia	Ghana	Mongolia	Sudan	Yugoslavia
Cambodia	Guinea	Nepal	Sweden	Zambia
Ceylon				

OPPOSED—57

Argentina	Dominican Republic	Italy	Malta	Saudi Arabia
Australia	Ecuador	Ivory Coast	Mexico	Sierra Leone
Belgium	Gabon	Japan	New Zealand	South Africa
Bolivia	Gambia	Jordan	Nicaragua	Spain
Brazil	Greece	Lesotho	Niger	Thailand
Central African Republic	Guatemala	Liberia	Panama	Togo
Chile	Guyana	Libya	Paraguay	Turkey
China	Haiti	Luxembourg	Peru	United States
Colombia	Honduras	Madagascar	Philippines	Upper Volta
Congo (Leopoldville)	Iceland	Malawi	Rwanda	Uruguay
Costa Rica	Ireland	Malaysia	Salvador	Venezuela
Dahomey	Israel			

ABSTENTIONS—17

Austria	Chad	Kuwait	Netherlands	Tunisia
Botswana	Cyprus	Lebanon	Portugal	
Cameroon	Iran	Maldive Islands	Singapore	Absent—
Canada	Jamica	Morocco	Trinidad-Tobago	Laos

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The Problem of the 'Stringless Grant'

In theory, there's little wrong with federal doles to the states. But what about in practice?

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

The hottest thing on the Hill just now (which may not be saying very much) is an idea that has been simmering on the back of congressional stoves for at least a dozen years. This is a scheme known to modern-day federalists as the "stringless grant." It has suddenly come to a boil.

If memory serves, the plan first was offered to Mr. Eisenhower during the 1952 campaign. Federal grant-in-aid programs were increasing, both in number and in size. In terms of tax revenues, the federal government was grazing in high clover, while the states were nibbling on sand. So a fresh idea was passed up the line: Why not devise a plan by which a certain percentage of the lush revenues collected by the federal Treasury would be rebated to the states, with no strings attached, for the states to spend as they pleased?

The novelty of the idea is said to have staggered Mr. Eisenhower; he lay down until it went away. When he arose, it was to advocate an alternative by which the federal government would repeal certain of its taxes, notably on telephone service, provided the states would reimpose these levies on their own. Nothing came of that idea, either, and the whole matter subsided.

In 1958 Wisconsin's Congressman Melvin Laird revived the stringless grant, but his bill wandered off to Ways and Means to be put humanely to sleep. In 1964, not long before he resigned as chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors, Walter Heller trotted out a variation on the scheme—and this time it almost caught on. President Johnson, yielding to a horrified bureaucracy, wouldn't buy the plan, but it began to be talked up in conferences of governors, mayors and political scientists.

Now, in the three weeks since snoozing Republicanism abruptly came to life, the stringless grant has started to bubble and throw off steam. Laird made it the subject of his keynote address to the National Conference of State Legislative Leaders on November 17. On November 27 New York's influential Charles E. Goodell leaped into the act. And Congressman Henry S. Reuss, of Milwaukee, determined to keep the Democrats in there swinging, promised a bigger and better variation all his own.

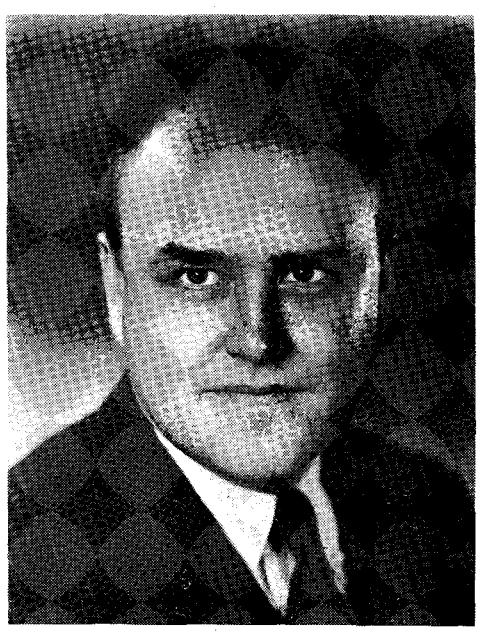
The plan ought to be viewed in two different ways – in terms of political theory and in terms of political practice.

In theory, at least, the idea makes sense in a dozen different ways. While the states and cities have increased their revenues enormously in recent years, the increase is one of those statistical illusions that looks greater than it is.

The big money—the awesome, incredible money—still flows into federal hands through the capacious channels of the 16th Amendment. It is the Congress which primarily has power "to lay and collect taxes on income, from whatever source derived." The states and localities have nothing to approach this effective collection device.

To be sure, a significant chunk of this money—about $16 billion in the current fiscal year—flows back to the states and localities in 170 different programs of grants-in-aid. And there's the rub. Despite all the talk of "creative federalism" and "local responsibility," every one of those dollars has a string attached and some of them have hawsers and cables. One of the results, as Laird remarked, is that federal programs tend to supplant, rather than to supplement, the creativity of state and local government.

A genuinely creative federalism, in Laird's view, must recognize that "the great society of America was created through vast diversity and not narrow conformity." If the states deliberately were encouraged to function as 50 separate laboratories of political experiment, the venerable principle of federalism might yet be applied successfully to 20th Century problems.



Rep. Melvin Laird (R.-Wis.) wants "vast diversity and not narrow conformity."

Under the Goodell plan, a sum equivalent to 3 per cent of federal revenues from the individual income tax (about $1.8 billion this year) would be returned to the states and cities under a formula that would give a little something extra to the 17 poorest states. The Reuss plan contemplates the return of $25 billion over a five-year period on generally the same approach. In each case, the rebates would come back with no strings at all, or with only the broadest guidelines.

The theory is splendid and the plan is sound. What of the political realities? No man who has watched the federal bureaucracy in action will want to bet on the plan's adoption. Such massive agencies as HEW and HUD are loath to give up even one dollar, let alone a couple of billion. Their swelling empires have to be fed. After all, they are only "carrying out the will of Congress," and the will of Congress never comes cheap. Besides, they are accomplishing certain purposes that rank high in the national interest. Is the national interest to be subverted—here a slight pause for a delicate shudder—so that Mississippi can engage in "experiment"?

Well, more power to Messrs. Laird, Goodell and Reuss. Here in Washington, most persons merely talk federalism. Talk's cheap. These gentlemen are ready to back up the talk with money.

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Did the U.S. Government Sell Erhard Down the River?

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Suddenly, with a sense of horror, certain people in the United States are discovering that nationalism is stirring again in Germany. The tendency is to equate it with something called "neo-Nazism." I am not so sure that this tendency makes sense; after all, one can be a nationalist without being either a totalitarian or a racist, and at this particular point in German history there is no demand whatsoever for a Fascist economy and hardly enough Jews living inside the Reich to provide a target for racial antipathies even if there were any. But to the extent that the contemporary recrudescence of German nationalism is to be considered a bad thing, the United States has no one to blame for it but its own policy makers.

The fact is that Washington has done Chancellor Ludwig Erhard in. Erhard visited this country recently in hopes of getting support for his government. We had been forcing Bonn to pay for American arms that the Germans did not need or want, the idea being that this would return some of the dollars that have been going from the U.S. to support American soldiers in Europe. In Washington Dr. Erhard discovered that Secretary of Defense McNamara was insisting that the bargain of German arms purchases in return for U.S. soldier maintenance must be carried out.

President Johnson took McNamara's side of the argument despite efforts on the part of Secretary of State Dean Rusk to soften the conditions—and poor Ludwig Erhard went home empty-handed. It wasn't long before his enemies were demanding his scalp.

What the Germans have learned is that they can trust nobody but themselves. Last August, in the Rhineland, I heard incontrovertibly democratic Germans complaining that neither France nor Britain was really interested in German reunification. The British were primarily concerned with saving money on the cost of defending Germany, and the French seemed bent on liquidating NATO. Erhard's disillusionment with Washington was just one more blow.

Washington's alienation of the Germans is something that is dictated by our current pro-Soviet policy. With a single-minded absorption in the business of settling the war in Viet Nam, Lyndon Johnson is trying desperately to get Moscow to bring the North Vietnamese to the peace table. We are offering trade bait to the East European Communist countries and to Russia itself. But the joker in all this is that the Soviets always take what they can get and give only what they were prepared to give anyway. They will accede to peace in Viet Nam when there is nothing more to be gained from prolonging the struggle.

As for Eastern Europe, the Soviets want co-existence there for the simple reason that it protects vulnerable borders. We don't have to sell West Germany down the river to improve our trade relations with Hungary or Rumania. On the other hand, the fact that the Russians want co-existence for Eastern Europe does not mean they want it elsewhere in the world, provided they can foment trouble without cost to themselves.

Everything is compartmentalized in the Soviet policy; they are perfectly capable of working for détente in Eastern Europe at the same time they are busy stirring trouble between Syria and Israel in the Near East. And they will make a play for peace in Southeast Asia without reference to either east Europe or the Near East at the precise moment that the U.S. is about to defeat the Viet Cong.

Since all of this is axiomatic with anyone who knows anything about Communist political strategy, our wooing of Moscow at the expense of Germany is simple-minded. Moreover, it ignores a hundred years of German history. The Germans are perfectly capable of making their own deals with the Russians if they aren't getting security from the West. The National Democratic party, which recently made such startling gains in Bavaria, wants foreign troops to leave German soil. But Germany can only afford to give up western protection by coming to its own terms with Russia. This was a lesson taught by Bismarck long ago. The Germans forgot it when they took on enemies on two fronts in two world wars. But they aren't likely to forget it again. The meaning is plain: we will either bind the Germans to us, or they will go to the East.

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Memo to Conservatives: Let's Keep Our Powder Dry

By MORRIE RYSKIND

However you slice it, the recent by-election was clearly a revolt against the ultra-leftism of the "Great Society" and a turn to the right. The Democratic governor of Indiana summed it up deftly: "Lyndon's bridge is falling down."

Small wonder conservatives have emerged from their caves and are celebrating wildly. For them it has indeed been a long time between drinks, and they're clearly entitled to whoop it up.

Fine—but here comes Cassandra. In a magazine piece on the California campaign that appeared just before the balloting, I warned that even the indicated conservative triumph would not end the war against the monolithic statists. It could prove as important as Washington's brilliant victory at Trenton, I said, but Yorktown would still remain an eternity away.

My eyes were glued on California, but I think the Reagan victory has significance for the entire country. In his corner were both liberal and conservative Republicans, who might differ on various programs but were firmly united on Reagan's prime targets: the need for the restoration of fiscal sanity, law and order, and individual responsibility as well as individual freedom—the plain common sense without which no society is viable. And in that unity lay Reagan's strength.

I am fully aware that Reagan's sweep was part of the national trend that sent many Democrats and independents flocking to the GOP standard in other states. But had there been no firm base to which to repair as an outlet for their visceral reactions, many might have seen little to vote for and Reagan's million plurality might well have shrunk to a hairsbreadth, and the result even gone the other way. Make no mistake about it, he gave them a choice.

We won—but don't expect instant miracles. There's still a long, long row to hoe. And let us remember that we have no right to ask the government to pull in its belt unless we're prepared to pull in our own. You don't get fiscal sanity just by voting for it—it's a two-way street.

So let's have one more for the road, if you will, but remember we're due back in the trenches. If we let our guard down now, we may be like those cocksure Hessians Washington pounced on—and what looked like Trenton may turn out to be Waterloo.

Already the signs are clear that the Juggernaut, though halted, is looking toward 1968, with the strategy of "divide and conquer," that worked so well in 1964, in mind. So watch for booby traps, and keep our eyes peeled on Greeks bearing gifts, especially if they're pollsters. The latter may be more dangerous.

I am, I confess, somewhat allergic to pollsters. They occasionally come through with a prediction, but not more than any other fortune-teller. Certainly none of them came near guessing the extent of the Reagan sweep.

During our gubernatorial primary they all said Reagan was the choice of the GOP, but that he couldn't draw enough Democrats to win. Christopher, their figures showed, was the wise choice. How now?

And there was the Belden Poll in Texas. In a race for the court of criminal appeals this year, two weeks before the Democratic primary, Belden gave Judge W. T. McDonald 52 per cent, and Judge John P. Onion 27 per cent. Onion won the primary with 53 per cent, which rather proved Belden didn't known his onions.

Nevertheless, I didn't like it when, in the U.S. Senate race, Belden in August made it Waggoner Carr 49 per cent and John Tower 33 per cent. And the night before election, says the Houston *Tribune,* Belden's final figures were Carr 51 per cent, Tower 48.4. But Tower, praise be, wound up with more than 56 per cent of the ballots.

And now comes Lou Harris with figures broadly hinting what the GOP should do in 1968. Romney would win over LBJ by 54 to 46, whereas Nixon, Percy and Rockefeller would lose by that same percentage. As for Reagan, he would be snowed under, 67 to 33.

Maybe. But would you mind rolling up your sleeve, Mr. Harris? No, not that one, the one that shows your arm tattooed with, "I love the Establishment."

I move we pick our own candidate when the time comes, fellows. And meanwhile, for Pete's sake, keep your powder dry.

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NO HALF - DOLLARS HERE—Reminiscent of the days when galleons from the New World arrived in Europe laden with rare treasure, the luxury liner *Raffaelo* recently docked in Naples with 1,248 silver ingots. The silver will be minted into 500-lire (80-cent) coins, and this will relieve a shortage of coins which has been causing Italians a measure of inconvenience. The silver came from the United States (where else?), where the natives are using ersatz quarters and doing without half-dollars because, they've been told, there is a great shortage of silver.—From the Waseca (Minn.) *Herald.*

Will Machines Replace Teachers?

By DR. MAX RAFFERTY, California Superintendent of Public Instruction

Americans have an Achilles' heel which extends roughly from toe to thigh. It's our inordinate love for mechanical gadgets and our national willingness to place a child-like if chuckle-headed reliance upon doohickeys and dinguses. If something whirs, clicks, buzzes or hums, we're usually all for it, even before we know what it's supposed to do.

Thus, the great wave of the future is right now supposed to be something called cybernetics which my dictionary defines as "the science which treats of the principles underlying the common elements in the functioning of automatic machines and of the human nervous system." In industry, this means the fully automated plant; in military science, pushbutton warfare; in medicine, the electronic diagnostician.

What of education?

Theoretically, cybernetics is going to revolutionize the schooling of the young. Right now we have machines which ask questions, correct wrong answers, analyze the reasons for the mistakes, present the material again in a simplified form and then retest for improved comprehension. They chime sweetly and turn on green lights when Junior salivates satisfactorily. They buzz harshly and turn all red-eyed when Junior goofs.

I'm supervising in my own state literally dozens of so-called "automated learning" or "programmed instruction" experiments, most of them financed through Uncle Sam's unprecedented largess in the form of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Hundreds of youngsters even as I write this are pushing buttons, pulling levers, following taped instructions and having a ball.

I'll make two predictions about all this right now, and you're welcome to check up on me a few months from now when the first fine flush of experimentation has faded from education's brow:

1. The kids instructed by the motorized and softly purring chrome steel versions of Our Miss Brooks will show spectacular rises in understanding and subject mastery as compared to those left to languish under the tutelage of the humdrum, flesh-and-blood originals.

2. Teaching machines will not replace the real McCoy because they don't really teach.

Paradox? Not really.

There's something called the "halo effect" in my profession, which means that the mere fact that a new program is being tried on a group of children causes them to be more interested and to work harder than they had been. Result: better achievement. Even if the new stuff isn't any better than the old. Sometimes even if it's worse. Catch: the "halo effect" doesn't last very long.

And I'm pretty confident that the human schoolmarm won't be scrapped in favor of the robot because of one thing. That's the underlying reality of education; the impact of the personality of the instructor upon the personality of the student. UNIVAC is estimable, durable and even more patient than Job. Trouble is, he has no personality at all.

Oh, he can be a mighty big help to teacher. He can relieve her of age-old drudgery and time-consuming repetition. He can test and retest and correct and drill. Cybernetics in the classroom is going to be a godsend—but not a replacement.

The teacher should approach his class as the conductor confronts his symphony orchestra. From the breathless whisperings of the strings, from the clarion peals of the brass, from the muted thunder of the percussion, the conductor will weave the very fabric of great music, threaded throughout with the polychromatic strands of his own genius. Even so will the teacher evoke from the myriad experiences of his pupils the chords which, laced and interwoven always with something of himself, will ring grandly in the harmony of life.

No machine, however versatile and ingenious, can do this. Neither could it paint the Mona Lisa. And for the same reason.

Teaching is an art. The greatest and most ancient of all the creative arts. A machine may train. It may present facts. It may even evaluate and judge. It can never teach.

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Problem of Bishop Pike

Each Church Should Have Basic Right to Copyright

By JENKIN LLOYD JONES

I was sipping a Sazarac at the circular bar of the old Hotel Monteleone in New Orleans, contemplating the eternal damnation of the strippers over on Bourbon Street. when I fell into conversation with the gentleman sitting next to me who was slowly surrounding a Martini.

We touched on the weather, brushed the World Series and the football season, and then wandered into weightier things. Before long, I found to my astonishment that I had been gradually led into a deep discussion of the relevance of a man's religious professions to current social problems. This was strange bar-talk.

"What do you do?" I asked.

My companion thrust forth his hand.

"I'm an Episcopal priest," he said. "Name is James Pike."

This was 10 years ago, and I had never heard of James Pike. But I thought I would.

Today James Pike, the resigned Episcopal bishop of California, faces a possible heresy trial that would certainly precipitate a crisis, and perhaps cause a split, in his church. The situation was backed into this fall when, at a meeting of the Episcopal House of Bishops, presiding Bishop John Hines sought to avoid action on a demand by Bishop Henry Louttit of southern Florida that Bishop Pike be tried for heresy.

A committee of eight bishops appointed by Bishop Hines recommended against a heresy trial, but came through with a report that blasted Pike for writing on "profound realities too often marred by caricatures of treasured symbols and . . . by cheap vulgarization of great expressions of faith."

Bishop Pike roared back with a demand for a full investigation of himself which, although technically only a "proceeding," would, in effect, be a trial. A heresy trial has a medieval sound, and many leading Episcopalians are appalled at the damage that would result. But exoneration of Pike has its own problems.

For this sincere, introspective man has hooted at the concept of the Trinity ("a committee of God"), at the doctrine of the virgin birth, at even the omnipotence of God. Pike's adherence to the Apostle's Creed, a "must" for all confirmed Episcopalians, could be established only on the loosest symbolic terms.

"About two years ago," he wrote recently, "I experienced a conversion. I no longer felt beholden to the institutional form of the Church in making my decisions. I would no longer balance prudence against truth and courage."

James Pike is now a member of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

Pike lampooned what he called "the Triumphalist Church, with the in-group elect, the salvation of the righteous and the burning of the rest." He called for a church "willing to give up its institutional status and its safety to take up difficult positions in a good cause."

James Pike is no martyr, nor does he pretend to be. He faces no stake, no imprisonment. When he resigned his bishopric this summer he promptly landed as a well-endowed member of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

There is nothing safer in America than a fired or resigned "liberal," for the rich foundations are ever waiting to catch him on feather pillows.

If we concede sincerity to Bishop Pike, let us also concede it to his enemies. For he has, indeed, presented the Protestant Episcopal Church with an honest dilemma. How rigidly can you hold to traditional beliefs without losing the boundaries and dimensions of your philosophies which justified your existence in the first place?

The tradition-bound Church of England has fallen on evil days because most Englishmen no longer think it has much relevance to their lives. Only 8 per cent of them are active communicants today. My own fellow Unitarians, on the other hand, have by their insistence on "absolute freedom" become an amorphous mass of Christians, agnostics, pantheists, atheists, Communists, humanists, etc., "without form, and void," as Genesis puts it. There is a point at which belief in everything becomes indistinguishable from belief in nothing.

Perhaps it's time to state a proposition: If an individual has a right to hold an individual opinion, so has a church a right to hold a collective opinion. It has a right to set up a community of the like-minded. No man may join it on his own terms. No contrary-minded man may insist upon membership.

A church has a right to be wrong. It has a right to become so narrow as to be ludicrous. It must only be prepared to accept the consequences.

A church, in short, has the right to copyright its name and to insist that its name connote certain basic principles. Where disagreement is sharp enough, schism and secession are not only natural but healthy.

The Episcopalians are going to have to decide whether they can conveniently bridge the gap between James Pike and the Apostle's Creed. Let no one condemn them if they decide the gap is too wide.

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Has Life of Its Own

A Bear Market Is a Tricky Phenomenon

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

The news that great General Motors had made a new low, after the stock market's dramatic rally, typifies a bear market.

It can be done, but even in the best equities it's hard to buy a bargain in a bear market. It takes time.

A bear market is not just a bull market that goes down. Old Wall Street hands know it is a vicious, tricky and surprise-laden phenomenon that lives a life of its own. And its rallies are not like the dove from Noah's ark signaling that the flood is over.

Rallying all the while, and prior to the last rally, mighty GM had already declined about $13 billion in value in less than a year. Great U.S. Steel has been in an individual bear market for seven years. This fine equity has fallen from $108 to $34, and even with the unexpected increase of its dividend a couple of weeks ago Big Steel has recovered so far only to 37.

How could bellwether AT&T's stockowners suffer a $9.5-billion decline in value which equalled all cash dividends paid in the past 30 years and about 75 per cent of the net profits for 30 years?

Countless millions who have a direct interest in today's market have never experienced this phenomenon. A new generation is facing the surprise. But there are no "new eras," although some kind of "new era" is always claimed, and no "built-in" protections can of themselves change cruel losses into gains when a bear market arrives and stocks show their loathsome Neanderthal zest to go down.

On Oct. 29, 1929, as *Variety* declared in its immortal headline, "Wall Street Laid An Egg." Today things are different, blessings be, especially in respect to stock-rigging and to thin margins, and nobody should compare today with 1929. But they do have one thing in common. Both raised the red flag: bear market.

Many good stocks such as RCA were only lately recovering pricewise from their wild build-ups and super-splits of a generation ago and other high flyers like excellent Anaconda ($174) and New York Central ($256) have never recovered. Worse, where, oh, where are super-popular Kolster Radio, Fox Film, Auburn Automobile, etc.—often bid for so intensely? Any bull market is built on a great many illusions.

By February this year the subsequent bull market had a heart attack. And when this writer wrote in January that "the market could fall like Roscow, the 1,200-pound diving horse at Atlantic City," the fall that followed was 250 points in the Dow-Jones Industrial Averages.

The question is: Where do we go from here?

Famous Wall Street operator Jesse L. Livermore used to say, "The market always looks good on the days it looks good. But it also looks bad on days it looks bad. Patience to wait is the public's missing ingredient."

An equally insidious booby trap is values. Prices are made by supply and demand, not values. Moreover, values change as conditions change, and foreseeing the causes and extent of the changes is of itself a very tricky business indeed. Then let a prime equity like General Motors sell below its previous low and a new discouragement contributes to the bear market.

Ultimately, after numerous illusionary changes in the trend, the beneficial force of earnings, yield and prospects begins to silently, very silently, assert itself. The true blue chips gradually, gradually move upward (market leadership) as the supply decreases.

In 1962 the market lost $116 billion in the first six months. The year's Dow-Jones Industrial Average's total travel, down and up, was 714 points. A beneficial period of the doldrums usually precedes a sound upturn and three bellwethers led the advance: AT&T, the most widely held stock in the world, General Motors and Standard Oil of New Jersey. These three still contain the same great implications.

One day a sound recovery which changes the bear market trend will be led by such splendid equities and reveal (slowly) a reassuring pattern of recoveries that remain recoveries after the declines. This is the real significance of important GM hitting a new low after the dramatic rally.

Prices, only prices, not opinions, will have to prove that the market is over its heart attack.

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In 1966 Republicans picked up 47 seats in the U.S. House of Representatives. Many of these new Congressmen are more conservative than the Democrats they replaced. This is a good beginning. (Even House Speaker McCormack of Boston concedes the new Conservative coalition in Congress can block most Great Society spending. But we cannot rest on our 1966 laurels.

It is time to go after the "high ground" of American politics -- the Presidency!

Recent history indicates a trend made visable by mid-term voting patterns such as we saw revealed in the 1966 elections can indeed point to a Presidential win next time around! GOP "Moderates" (so-called) want to deny us this opportunity!

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO STOP A LEFT-WING TAKEOVER OF THE GOP?

Talk earnestly with your Conservative friends. Tell them how important it is not to settle back in apathy right now. Show them newspaper clippings about the Romney-Rockefeller meeting in Puerto Rico. Tell them that Gov. Scranton of Pennsylvania, an ally of the Romney-Javits--Percy-Hatfield-Rockefeller-Brooke clique, said on a visit to Boston on Nov. 14, 1966 (shown on TV) that Republican "Moderates" believe they can take the GOP away from the Goldwaterites at the grass roots level by starting their spade work immediately and building up a big lead in delegate strength long before the 1968 GOP Convention!

Once you have awakened your Conservative friends to this serious threat from our GOP left flank, get them to join with you in stirring up as many more Conservatives as they know. One very effective way of doing this, you can advise them, is by using our new red and white stickers on their letters and postcards.

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USE THE ENDLESS CHAIN TECHNIQUE!

One of the ways in which Sam Adams galvanized Patriots into action in 1776 was through the use of endless chains. Sam sent riders out of Boston bearing identical copies of letters to trusted Patriot leaders in New York, Philadelphia and other communities. At each of these locations local Patriots made additional copies of these letters and dispatched these copies to still more leaders of the Opposition. In this way, within a matter of weeks the anti-Monarchy citizens of Colonial America were able to weld together a strong network of reliable individuals. An American President later commented that this quiet but determined effort to persuade fellow-Americans had more to do with winning our Independence than did the violence of the Revolutionary War. The same principles will still work for us today, if we will but use them!

Decide first how many sheets of these stickers you can use yourself. Then write down the names of all your Conservative friends. Multiply their number by two...five...even 10 or more. Order enough stickers to use yourself plus extras to give to your Conservative friends. When you give or mail these stickers to them, tell them how important it is for them to do just as you are doing...use some of the stickers themselves and give others to their friends. If you send enough, they can give extras to their friends, so that their friends can duplicate this process...and you can thus start a chain reaction that will go on for weeks. By yourself, you can begin a widening circle of influence that could ripple outward many miles!

Don't hesitate another day. The GOP leftists control and dominate national Press and TV. They will put forth in print and over the air their view that they have won title to the GOP and expect to nominate the 1968 Presidential candidate. Unless we can stir up strong opposition to their early work, they just might succeed. Mail your order for stickers today. (Minimum order: 6 sheets for $1.05). Send cash, check or money order to Dept. 30, The Spirit of '76 House, Box 128, Sherborn, Mass. 01770. We will pay third class postage (add 10¢ if you want speedy first class service) and we will rush your stickers back the same day we receive your order. ACT NOW!

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